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Edited by  
Brian S. Smith

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## FOREWORD

This eighth collection of essays on Gloucestershire history has been compiled by members of the historical research class held in the Gloucestershire Record Office in 1975-6 under the auspices of the University of Bristol and Workers' Educational Association.

Attendance was exceptionally good in a winter uninterrupted by bad weather, industrial disputes or security problems, and the class has been outstandingly industrious. Unfortunately it has not been possible to publish all the essays submitted. The selection includes those which make a significant contribution to local historical knowledge, and several written by members with no previous experience of historical research, which will perhaps encourage others fearful of using original sources.

As on previous occasions we wish to thank the Gloucestershire County Council for allowing us to meet in the Record Office, and the Extra-Mural Department of the University for publishing our work.

Brian S. Smith

MEN AND ARMOUR FOR GLOUCESTERSHIRE IN 1608

by JOHN W. WYATT

This session the analysis and summary of John Smith's Men and Armour for Gloucestershire in 1608 (1) which has occupied three sessions, has been completed and tables have been compiled showing the number of men engaged in each of almost two hundred trades or occupations in each manor, hundred, and division in the county, and in the whole of Gloucestershire. The tables are far too lengthy for inclusion in this article, the purpose of which is to explain some of the differences between this analysis and a similar one by A.J. and R.H. Tawney published in The Economic History Review in 1934 (2); to make some criticisms of that analysis; and to make a new assessment of the value and importance of Men and Armour.

Smith's work is a list of 'all the able and sufficient men in body fitt for his Ma'tie's service in the warrs .. viewed by ... Lord Barkley, Lord Lieutenant' in August and September 1608. It gives the name of each man and states the occupation of about seventy-five per cent of them. For the remainder either no occupation is stated or they are stated to be servants of gentlemen or of employers whose occupation is not stated. It also gives some indication of the age and physique of most of the men. Finally it lists the names of all men - and of 135 women - who held arms or armour or who were under a legal obligation to provide this.

In this analysis only those men fit to serve in the militia have been included; the total for the whole of Gloucestershire being 18,624. The Tawneys' list, however, totals 19,402. This is because they have included those men, but not the women, who held - or were charged with the duty of providing - arms or armour. Consequently this analysis numbers only able-bodied men within a certain age group whereas the Tawney numbers include about 800 men not in those categories. As no occupation is given for most of those 800 their inclusion adds little to our knowledge but makes the difficult task of comparison with any other statistics concerning the population of the county even more difficult.

It is doubtful whether any two persons counting the number of men in Men and Armour would arrive at exactly the same number. In Berkeley Division about 20 names have been cancelled and these men have not been included in this summary. The Tawneys did not state whether they included them or not - probably they did. Moreover a few entries in Men and Armour are ambiguous and in two or three instances a man appears to have been recorded twice. These cancellations and ambiguities are, however, insufficient to be of any significant importance.

The classification of men into occupational groups generally follows that of the Tawneys but there are some differences. The most important concerns their classification of 'Servants, Household and Unspecified. Servants to Knights, etc.' In Men and Armour for Sapperton, for example, one man described as 'gent', 14 as yeomen and 9 as husbandmen have been bracketed together as 'Servants to Sir Henry Poole'. Similarly for Dodington, 8 yeomen and 6 husbandmen are stated to be 'menyall and household servants' to Mrs Richard Codrington. In this summary these men have been classified as yeomen or husbandmen. The Tawneys have classified them as 'Servants to Knights, etc.'. Similarly, if, as at Rodborough, a man is stated to be a tucker and also a servant to a clothier he has been classified in this survey as a tucker, emphasis being given to the most specific rather than the more vague description of a man's employment.

Professor and Mrs Tawney have misunderstood some terms used to describe a man's occupation. As they themselves state, they did not have an intimate knowledge of Gloucestershire but reference to the Oxford English Dictionary or a more careful scrutiny of the context in which some of the terms are used would have prevented some errors in classification. A list of some of these follows, the Tawneys' classification being given in brackets.

Colliers (included with Miners). Cyril Hart, in Royal Forest, a History of Dean's Woods, gives this definition. 'Charcoal-burner. From eighteenth century a miner of mineral coal'.(3) Certainly the two colliers at Minchinhampton and the two at Bisley must have been charcoal-burners. Out-crop coal was probably mined for local household use in the Forest by 1608 and one coal miner was listed in Men and Armour at Kilcot, near Newent, but coal could not be used in the iron industry until about 1730 and the difficulty of transporting it by land made its cost prohibitive as household fuel at any considerable distance from the Forest. Coal was, however, being mined more extensively in the Kingswood area where proximity to Bristol made its use as household fuel a possibility. In 1601 Lord Berkeley ordered the men of Bitton to fill in any old coal-pits not still in use.(4) In this summary therefore colliers have been classified as charcoal-burners in the Forest Division but in the Kingswood area of Berkeley Division as either charcoal-burners or coal-miners.

Cardboard-makers and Card-makers (Makers of cardboard or card in the modern sense). Cardboard in its modern sense, was not made till about 1800. Cyril Hart defines it as 'Cleft timber, boards, pales and the like; chiefly oak'.(5) In 1608 there was one cardboard maker in the Forest, and one, with two card-makers, in Gloucester city. Evidently they were wood-workers and probably made the 'cards' used for combing wool preparatory to spinning.

Chamberlains (Officials). Chamberlain is the masculine form of chambermaid and indicates a servant at an inn. In Men and Armour men so described are listed with tapsters, etc. immediately after an innkeeper.

Loaders (Transport workers). These are almost always listed immediately after a miller and frequently described as 'his loader'. Evidently they were millers' servants who loaded the hoppers at the top of the mill with the corn which trickled down to the mill-stones.

Pinner (Makers of pins). Also defined as pin-makers by the present writer in Glos. Historical Studies, Vol.VIII, p.8. On second thoughts it appears more probable that 'pinner' is another form of 'pinder', i.e. one who impounds stray horses, cattle or sheep. Two are listed in the West Ward of Gloucester, near the town meadows, and three, with three servants, in the Forest of Dean.

The analysis of Men and Armour completed, there remained the important and more interesting work of assessing its value and importance. In particular there were two questions requiring answers: 1. How complete was the list of men? and 2. What was the lower age limit of the men?

Territorially the whole of the present county, with the exception of the city of Bristol, is covered by Men and Armour. Of the parishes listed in The Survey of Church Livings in Gloucestershire, 1650, (6) only one, Weston-on-Avon, now in Warwickshire but then in Gloucestershire, is not included. As it was on the county border the men there may have been included in some Warwickshire manor, for parish, manor, and county boundaries sometimes overlapped. As there were only fourteen families there in 1650, its omission is of trivial importance. In Whitstone Hundred two adjacent ancient parishes, Randwick and Standish, are not mentioned by name. It must be remembered that in Men and Armour the men are listed in manors, not parishes, and that manor boundaries often overlapped parish boundaries. For Oxlynch, a manor on the border of Standish and Randwick, 123 men were listed, and a further 22 men were listed for the manor of Putloe, in Standish parish. According to Atkyns there were 203 houses in Standish and Ruscombe in 1712, (7) so the 145 men listed for Oxlynch and Putloe must have included all the able-bodied men of these parishes.

Were the names of any able-bodied men, other than those legally exempt from militia service, omitted from the lists? The Tawneys asserted that 'a considerable number of persons who ought to have given in their names failed, or refused to do so' and that John Smith himself stated this. In a footnote to justify this statement they add, 'Smith (A Description of the Hundred of Berkeley, p.9) refers to "many that were defaulters in this hundred and appeared not"! If there were defaulters

in the hundred of Berkeley it is probable that there were many more in other parts of the county. It may be added that only three clergymen appear in the return, though the servants of fourteen are listed.'(8)

The last sentence shows that the Tawneys had little knowledge of the militia, for clergymen, like members of the nobility and their household servants, were exempt from militia service. The suggestion that men may have 'refused' to give their names is somewhat naive. Moreover Smith did not state very precisely that the names of a considerable number of men were omitted. The statement to which the Tawneys refer asserts that at the muster of 1608 there appeared before Lord Berkeley '2064 able men fit for martial service, then dwelling in this hundred, whose names ... were ... written in three books in folio, the labour of my selfe and of William Archer my Clerk, which now remain in Berkeley Castle; besides many that made default in this hundred and appeared not.' (9) Later statements by Smith in his accounts of the individual parishes are rather more precise. Writing of Alkington for example, he states 'And of able men for the warres between 20 and 60 years old were in 1608, which appeared before Henry lord Berkeley, then Lieutenant of the County at a generall muster - 106.' (10)

There were reasons for doubting whether the statements by John Smith himself were entirely reliable.

First, he stated that the lower age limit for the men called to the muster was 20 years whereas Lindsay Boynton, The Elizabethan Militia 1558-1638 states that the lower age limit was 16 years.(11). Moreover in the introduction to each of the three folios comprising Men and Armour it was stated that the figure 1 after a man's name indicated a man of 'about' 20 years of age.

Secondly, John Smith was an old man when he finished writing A Description of the Hundred of Berkeley. Sir John Maclean, who edited the printed version in 1885, wrote in the introduction 'This volume has been written in haste ... left in a less perfect condition than in his previous work. There are many blanks, which perhaps ... his defect of memory did not enable him readily to fill up.'(12). Smith was 73 years old when he finished writing in December 1639 this, the last of his works, 'which as the last, I rejoyce to behold, the labour beinge ended'. He dedicated the work to his son John and his ancient and honest servant, William Archard, and in the dedication listed his twenty six works - 'my endeavours ... great indeed had not continued delight of 40 years haled me along'(13). He looked back on his life with great pleasure and satisfaction, remembering 'Going to Tilbury Camp in 88', 'The Lord Berkeley keeping his great Christmas at Berkeley Castle' in 1603, the great flood of 1606, and 'The fall of the great Elm at Hams green' in 1575 (14). In writing of Berkeley town he remembered the ancient inn, the 'Ivy Bush', 'which



having byn my rendezvous for 48 yeares or more, I may not without ingratitude to the Bush which so long agone first beckened me thither, passe by (without mention)' (15). It was 31 years since the muster of 1608; he may well have forgotten some of the details. He died fourteen months later.

Was Men and Armour a list of the men who attended the muster of 1608, or was it a list of those who should have attended it? There were reasons for believing it to be the latter.

Common sense would suggest the Lord Lieutenant, faced with the task of mustering the militia, would require a list of all men liable for service. How, otherwise, would he know if there were any defaulters? How did John Smith know there were many defaulters if there was no such list? When the militia was revived in 1756-7 the parish constables were required to draw up a list of all the men liable for service. It appeared likely that the same procedure was followed in 1608. A careful scrutiny of the lists of men in Men and Armour suggested that the lists had, indeed, been drawn up by the constables, for they are too individualistic to have been compiled by one central authority at the musters. There are wide differences in the amount of care taken; for Twigworth and Kingsholm no occupations are stated whereas for Alvington the occupation of only one man out of 165 is omitted. There are differences in the classification of occupations; 83 men classified as labourers at Tewkesbury, only six at Gloucester. There are differences in arrangement; for Painswick all the agricultural workers, weavers, tailors, etc. are grouped together, in most places they are scattered haphazardly in the list. There are differences in nomenclature; millers, milners, millards, etc.

It is inconceivable that defaulters were not recorded, and, if separate lists of defaulters were made, why did not Smith use them when noting the number of men in each parish in Berkeley hundred? Could Men and Armour be a list of all men fit for service including those who attended the muster and those who defaulted?

These doubts and uncertainties were discussed with our tutor and editor, Mr. Smith, who took a similar view and kindly searched the original lists for Men and Armour, and other documents concerning it, in the Muniment Room at Berkeley Castle. There he discovered, and transcribed, a letter from the bailiff and constables of Cheltenham Hundred of such importance that it is here reproduced in full.

'To the Constable of Charleton Kinges  
By vertue of a warrante to us directed ffrom the righte honourable the lorde Berkley lord lieuetennant of the Countie of Gloucester

'These are therefore willinge and requyringe you with all dilygence that you geive warninge unto all able

persons dwellinge within your office of the age of xviiij yeares and upwards that they doe personally appere at Cheltenham upon Saturdaie the xxiiij of this instance month of September by viij of the Clocke in the ffore noone of the same day being ffytte to sarve his majestie in his warres if hereafter anie of them shall be therunto requyred there to be viewed and inrouled accordyng to the tenor of the letters of his majesties pryvie Councell And alsoe that you brynge with you wrytten in paper a roull contaynyng the names and surnames of everie such inhabitante within your sayde parish or Constabulary with such additions as are most usually geve unto them And of what quallitie trade or occupation everie of them are of setting downe the names of able servantes next after their maisters and of able sonnes next after their ffathers And what Armor or other martiall weapons every person within your sayde parishe or Constabulary hath in his house or custody And what armor anie of the sayde Inhabitantes stand chargable with towards the ffurnishinge of anie trayned bandes expressinge also who are trayned soldiers within your parishe and who are lordes of anie Mannor within your parishe and wheyther such lordes be most usually resydent in this Countie or not And that your selfe be then allsoe there with a Roull in paper of all such particulars as are fformerly recyted And here of ffaile ye not at your uttermost perill

Cheltenham this xjth of September 1608  
Your loveinge ffriends

Thomas Paget Bayliffe  
Walter Mason Constables  
Wm. Stroude'

(16)

Mr. Smith also examined some of the original rolls for the various manors. Many of these are headed only by the name of the manor but that for Kingscote begins

'A true note & Certyficat of the names and syrenames & other additions of those able men that are warned within our Tythinge to appeare at Barkley by vertue of a warrant from the honorable the Lord Barkeley'.  
(17)

On the original rolls the names and occupations of the men are written by one hand, but to the right of each name the symbols classifying the men into age groups and suitability for the various branches of the militia (pikeman, musketeer, caliver-man or pioneer) are written by a different hand and in a different ink. Obviously they were added at the muster, after the men had been inspected by the captains.

On the left of each name, also added in a different ink, is either a dot or a D. The D probably indicates a defaulter.

Another document at Berkeley Castle noted by Mr Smith is the agenda of a meeting held at Berkeley on 24 August 1608 the purpose of which was

1. To read the Privy Council's letter in the hearing of all
2. To deliver notes or copies of it to every captain
3. To show how the Berkeley muster rolls had been compiled
4. To arrange places and dates for the general musters. Men from about 24 tithings were to assemble at each muster, held by ten captains
5. To appoint a place, 'as at Glouc,' to view all those making default because of sickness, travel, etc. It was estimated that there would be about a thousand defaulters, four from each parish.

The document concludes with many queries about the raising of the trained bands, training, arms, and ammunition. (18)

The fourth item on the agenda shows that the militia was not mustered in divisions but in smaller groups. This explains why the precise date of the musters is not given in Men and Armour, which states only that three of the divisions mustered in August and two in September. Lindsay Boynton states that in 1608 the musters of all divisions within each county were to be held on the same day. (19) This was not done in Gloucestershire.

The documents at Berkeley Castle prove beyond doubt that Men and Armour is a list of all the men in Gloucestershire between eighteen and sixty years of age who were fit for military service with the exception of those exempt. According to Lindsay Boynton, those exempt were 'nobles and their households along with certain other exempt groups' (20) He does not expand on this statement except to state that it included the clergy. (21) More research is called for. Possibly some officers of the parishes and hundreds were not included in the lists for the names of Thomas Paget, bailiff, and Walter Mason and Wm Stroude, constables of Cheltenham Hundred do not appear in the list of those ordered to muster though obviously they had to attend. The bailiff may have been too old or infirm for military service but it is very unlikely that the two constables were.

Professor and Mrs Tawney therefore, were wrong in their assumptions that Men and Armour was a list of the men between twenty and sixty years of age and that 'a considerable number of men who ought to have given in their names failed, or refused, to do so', but we may be sure that they would have been delighted to know that Men and Armour was a more complete and, consequently a more valuable document than they had imagined.

Having made some criticisms of their article, it is only fair to point out, first; that Professor Tawney and his wife did not have access to the documents in Berkeley Castle. Secondly, that theirs was the first, and remained for forty-two years the only, summary of Men and Armour; a surprising fact, for it is a unique document containing a wealth of information about every town and village in Gloucestershire in 1608. Thirdly, that their article is full of carefully worked out statistics and valuable comment.

Finally, eminent professional historians such as R.H. Tawney would have been wasting their talent had they spent as much time studying one local document as a local amateur might be prepared to devote. Happily the professionals have left something for the amateurs to discover. All who follow in the footsteps of John Smith, that most lovable of Gloucestershire's amateur historians, must be thankful that this is so.

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13. Ibid., p.34
14. Ibid., p.411
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## GLOUCESTER'S WALLS AND DEFENCES IN EARLY TIMES

by D.J. PARKER

### The first Defences are Built

The early Britons called the town Caer Glou, during the Roman conquest it was called Glevum, being conquered by Aulus Plautius about 44 AD under the emperor Claudius. The Romans established a military station here for the purposes of checking the invasions of the Silures or South Welsh from the west of the Severn. These people were brave and strong using every opportunity to attack the Roman held areas.

Consequently it is to be expected that the Romans would have fortified and eventually walled the town, proof of this being verified by the archaeological excavations carried out. No Roman inscriptions have been found on the walls to indicate who built them but John Bellows (1) claimed that it was most likely the Second Augustan Legion; however other authorities disagree.

The last Roman legion left Britain in 426/427, leaving the Britons masters of the town until it was taken from them by the Saxons c.570 who eventually drove them beyond the Severn into Cumbria. About 670 (2) Wulfer son of Penda, repaired the city which had been considerably damaged during the wars, "and having enlarged and beautified it that according to Bede it was one of the noblest cities in the kingdom about the beginning of the eighth century". It is probable that the city walls at this time were not neglected as towns without walls were not considered safe places.

Following the invasion by the Danes, Rudder says "836 or soon after the Danes possessed themselves of this place and pitching their tents here lorded it over this part of the country, and made themselves masters of the Forest of Dean, and a great part of Herefordshire". It seems probable that at this time the town will have been ransacked and the walls and gates damaged.

### The Norman Period Onwards

There is little information available following the Roman period until the Norman invasion when William the Conqueror "having settled the southern parts of the kingdom, came to Gloucester, and liking the situation, caused the north, east, and south sides of the town to be fortified with battlemented stone walls and gates to repel the Welsh who had given much trouble in the time of Edward the Confessor (3). He also instigated the erection of a castle on the south west side of the town. The inference of his actions suggest that the earlier walls and defences must have been in a poor state.

About this time the Westgate which would have been near the junction with Berkeley Street is said to have been removed by the Normans to obtain stone.

A new castle (or maybe an addition to the previous one) was completed by Walter the sheriff for Henry I c.1110 and the first known Westgate bridge was built in the reign of Henry II by Nicholas Walred, clerk. From recent discoveries it consisted of six arches over the Severn. Ieland, (mid 16th century) mentions only five arches; much later the bridge was reduced to four arches.

In 1172 it is recorded that Jorworth, Lord of Caerleon-upon-Usk destroyed the nearby countryside with fire and sword up to the gates of Gloucester and Hereford (4).

The castle which now formed part of the towns defences, was also a royal residence and was frequently being added to and repaired. In 1230-1250 the walls were being crenelated, the kings chapel enlarged and much additional work carried out (5). It also had a moat with several bridges over it, but it is not certain how the moat was kept filled, although Kip's engraving (1712) showed a stream near the castle. There may also have been a great bridge over the Severn adjacent to the castle at this time.

At places around the circuit of the town walls, remains of interval or angle towers have been found. Speed's map (attached) shows one of these immediately east of the Southgate, this is probably the one featured in a grant made to the Friars Minors (Grey Friars) dated 31st July 1246 allowing them to hold schools of theology in the turret of the Kings Wall (6). This would be behind the houses in Parliament Street today and possibly on the city side of the wall.

The Eastgate also had its educational uses as it was used for a charity school in 1260, (Rudder says it was used in 1272 for this purpose) and it was later used as the house of correction (Bridewell) (7).

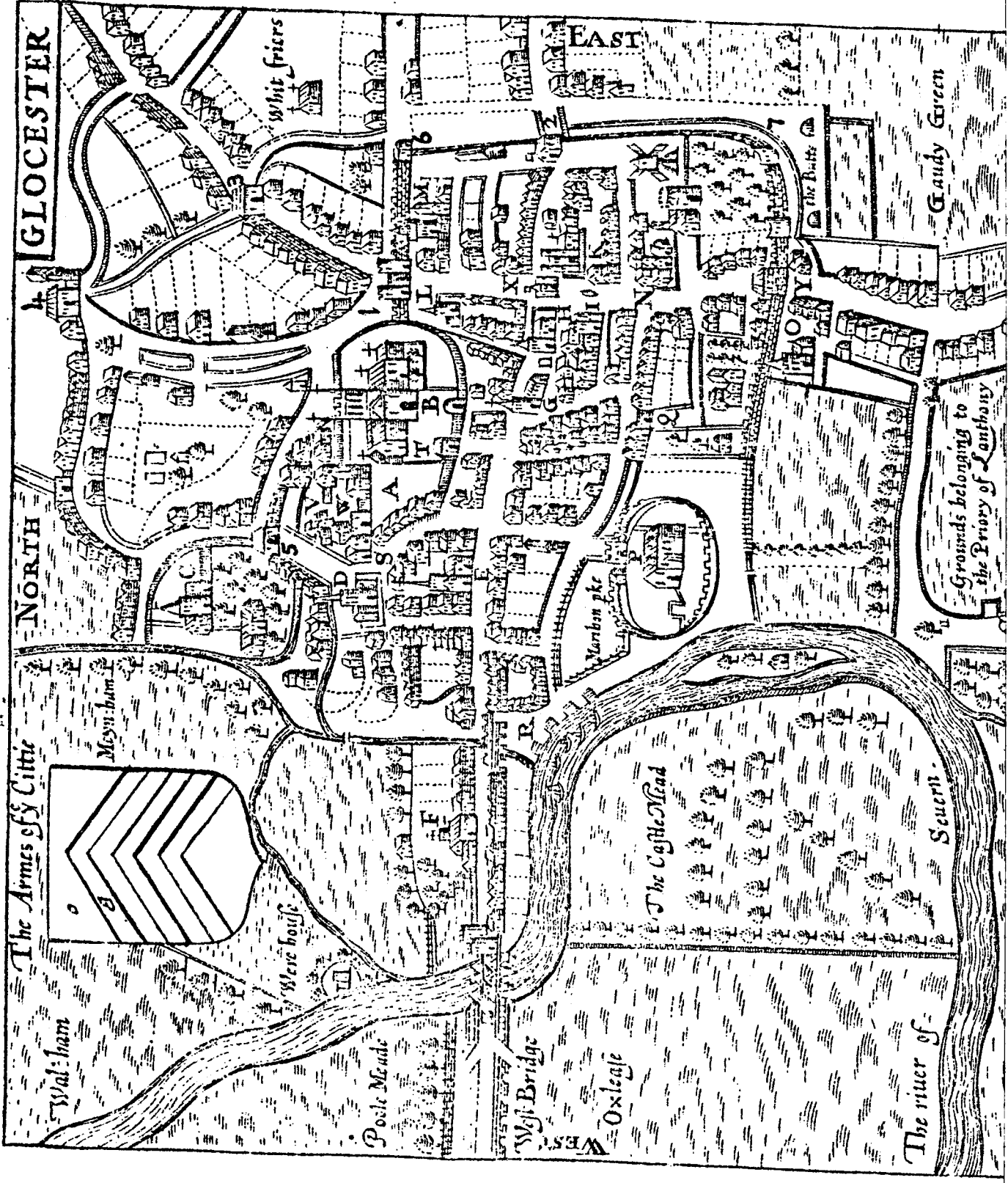
During the Barons War in 1264 Simon de Montfort the Earl of Leicester laid seige to the town and took it in four days. The inhabitants redeemed themselves from plunder by the payment of £1,000 (8). However Prince Edward (son of Henry III) and the Earl of Gloucester beseiged it on the north side and entering a breach which they made in the wall leading to St. Oswalds Gate (Blindgate) took it from Leicester (9). Many of the burgesses were put to death and a great part of the town destroyed.

Following the assaults on Gloucester during this period, the king ordered the levelling of certain buildings which had afforded protection to the rebels and endangered his men in the castle, and commanded a new dyke to be made about the town (10).

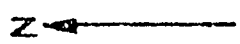
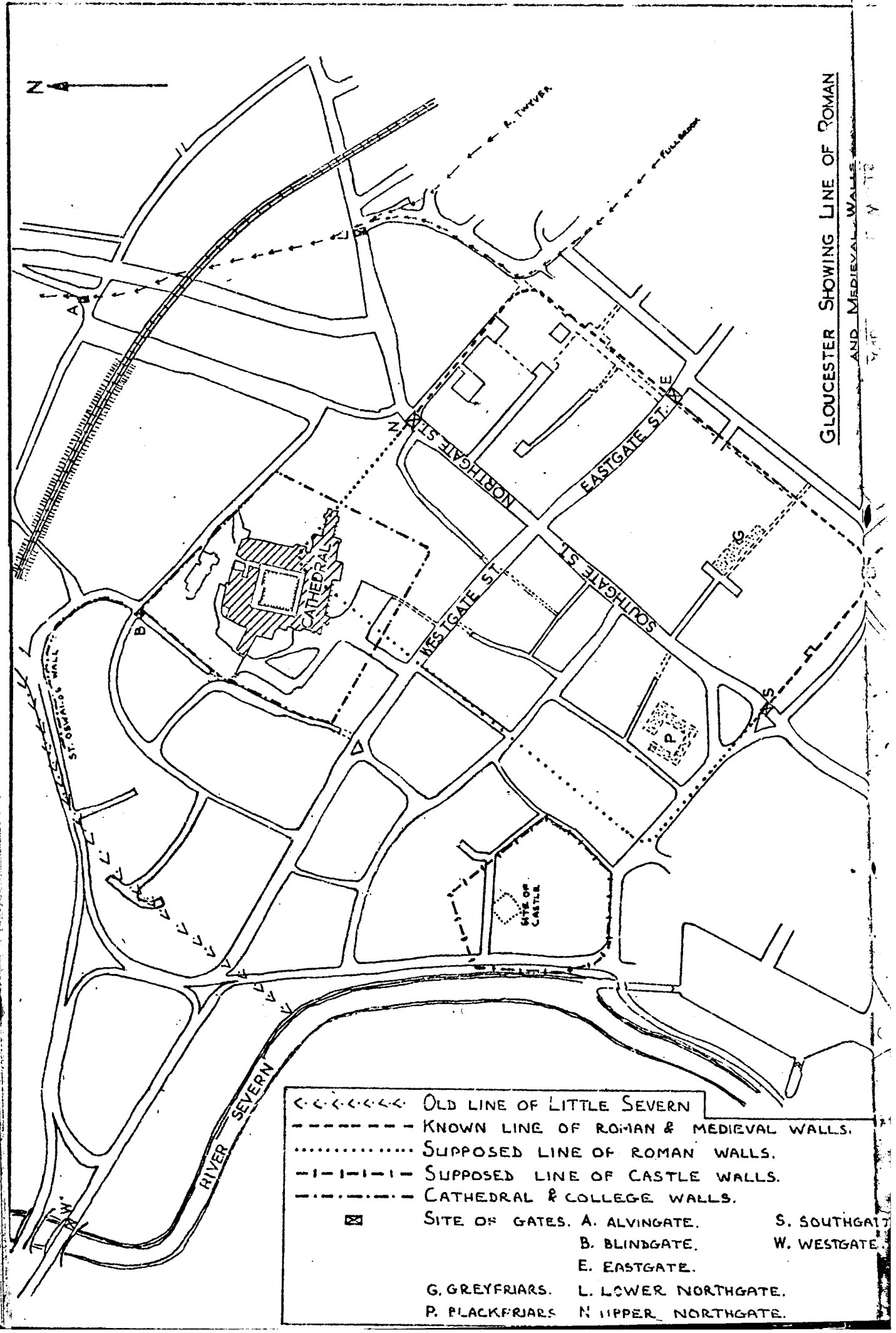
"By the following century more positive measures to maintain the condition of the walls were taken (11)" 1345 October 1st - King Edward III to the bailiffs and men of Gloucester. We have, at the request of Thomas de Bradeston and in aid of the repairing and sustenation of the walls of the town aforesaid, granted to you that from this date until seven years you may take of goods for sale coming to

- KEY
- P CASTLE
  - Y SOUTHGATE
  - Z WESTGATE & BRIDGE
  - 1 UPPER NORTHGATE
  - 2 EASTGATE
  - 3 LOWER NORTHGATE
  - 4 ALVINGATE
  - 5 BLINDGATE
  - 6 ALMESHAM POSTERN GATE
  - 7 GOOSDITCH

GLOUCESTER  
FROM SPEED'S MAP OF



GLoucester SHOWING LINE OF ROMAN AND MEDIEVAL WALLS



- |           |                                       |                     |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|
| <<<<<<<<< | OLD LINE OF LITTLE SEVERN             |                     |
| -----     | KNOWN LINE OF ROMAN & MEDIEVAL WALLS. |                     |
| .....     | SUPPOSED LINE OF ROMAN WALLS.         |                     |
| - - - - - | SUPPOSED LINE OF CASTLE WALLS.        |                     |
| .....     | CATHEDRAL & COLLEGE WALLS.            |                     |
| ☒         | SITE OF GATES. A. ALVINGATE.          | S. SOUTHGATE        |
|           | B. BLINDGATE.                         | W. WESTGATE         |
|           | E. EASTGATE.                          |                     |
|           | G. GREYFRIARS.                        | L. LOWER NORTHGATE. |
|           | P. PLACKFRIARS                        | N. UPPER NORTHGATE. |



Gloucester by land or by water the following customs: from each horse-load of corn for sale, whatsoever kind it may be, or of malt,  $\frac{1}{4}$ d; of each horse and mare, ox and cow,  $\frac{1}{4}$ d; of each dole of wine, 2d; of each pipe of wine, 1d; ...." etc.

Again we find in Patent Rolls 8th March 1359:-  
Grant, at the request of Thomas de Bradeston, to the bailiffs and goodmen of Gloucester of murage for 10 years (12).

In 1377 the burgesses cleansed and enlarged the ditch under the wall of the Friars Preachers (Black Friars) to the quantity of 12 feet, so that several elms and ashes in the banks and in the churchyard of St. Kyneburg (Kimbrose) were cut down (13).

A petition to King Henry VII in 1487-8 from the Mayor and Burgesses of Gloucester mentions the "great costs and charges that they have to bear in keeping and maintaining the walls gates and towers of the town and in repairing and maintaining the great bridge over the Severn which bridge, walls and towers are now very ruinous and likely to fall unless your grace be shown to us for aid and succor whereof we made petition at your last being in Gloucester"(14). There appears to be no record of whether the king granted their request for help but by the reign of Henry VIII the Westgate was obviously very ruinous as it was rebuilt again along the style of the Norman one (15). The town about this time however was said to be "strongly defended by its walls and so continued to the seige".

### The Civil War and After

In 1641 the country was confronted by Civil War, and Gloucester realising the desirability of ensuring the defences of the town were in order, engaged in extensive maintenance to the fortifications costing £93. 0s. 11d. (A) during the ensuing year (see Table 1) and a further sum of £105 1s. 6d towards arms and ammunition. The Council on the "11th October 1642 Ordered. That the two gilt bowls four old maces and one old seal of Mayoralty be sold towards the charge of the fortifications of the city".(16)

At the time of the seige the walls were described as follows: "from the Southgate to the North Port or Posterngate, was an ancient wall well lined with earth to a considerable height. Thence to the Northgate was a slender work raised upon a low ground. From the North to the Westgate was no ancient defence, but a small work newly raised, with the advantage of marshy grounds without, and the same within from the inner Northgate to the Priory of St. Oswald. From the west towards the Southgate, along the river-side, was no wall; but from the castle to the South Port was a firm and lofty work, to command the high ground in the suburbs. The ditches or moats narrow, but filled with water". (17)

Reference to Speed's panoramic view of Gloucester and the attached street plan will give some indication of the position of the gates and walls. The height of the walls in medieval times were said in Archdeacon Furney's MS to be as high "as a two storey house. The walls had battlements and

on the top were walks, probably like those at Chester". "There were eight great drawbridges for carts and waggons, and two horse bridges at as many entrances". At the four principle gates the gate porter hung a lantern over each to enable carriages and passengers to cross the bridges safely at night (18).

Gloucester at this time was also described as being, "A place guarded on one side by the Severne and situated on a fine eminence rising on one side from a watery, miry, destestable vale, where a shower of rain would at any time incomode the soldiers to the last degree, and trenches could not be run without their suffering great hardship" (19).

During the seige the walls were lined with earth as were some of the houses adjacent to the walls, a breast work and trench was built across Eastgate Street and earth was piled up against some of the drawbridges. There were sconces (B) at the Eastgate, Northgate, Southgate, Alvingate, the Blind Gate, Rigney Stile and Friars Orchard (Site of the Technical College).

The seige had lasted a month when the town was relieved on the 5th September by the arrival of the Parliamentary forces. The Royalists, who had suffered severe losses, retreated.

Following the seige, the Southgate, in consequence of the damage done to it, was extensively rebuilt in 1643/4 costing £95. 4s. 4d that year (20). On one side of the arch was inscribed, A CITY ASSAULTED BY MAN, BUT SAVED BY GOD, and above it, "there was fixed in stone the arms of the Dukes of York and Gloster, over them his Majesty's arms encircled with the Garter without supporters".(21). On the other side next to the city, EVER REMEMBER THE FIFTH OF SEPTEMBER 1643. GIVE GOD THE GLORY (22).

The Mayor and Corporation ordered this day to be observed annually as a day of thanksgiving, which was called "The Gloucester holiday", and this was continued until the Restoration (23). Rudder also mentions the Royal Arms being erected here. It seems strange however that the insignia of the Royal Family should have been put above the gate as they were the enemy who had besieged the city and lost the battle.

Further substantial amounts of money were spent over the next few years, about £100 on the Westgate and Lower Northgate in 1645/6 and £61 17s. 5d. in 1646/7 on the Town walls (Table 1). On July 22nd 1650 the Commons agreed to a loan of £600 at 8% interest to Sir Wm. Constable towards repairs of the fortifications (24).

By July 1651 the Royalist threat was more serious and on August 23rd a letter from the mayor to the Speaker reports of ceaseless work on the defences, as they were very ruinous, also that they had exceeded their income by £1,000 and yet other emergencies and making new drawbridges had been added to this, and therefore required £200 towards these charges (25).

- (A) A workmans wage for a day at this time was ninepence to one shilling.
- (B) Sconce - A small earthwork used for defence and mounting guns.

TABLE 2.

Year (Michaelmas to Michaelmas)	1653/54	1654/6	1655/7	1657/8	1658/9	1659/60	1661/2
Upper Northgate		8.13.3	9.1.8	2.10.0	13.8.8		22.15.4
Lower Northgate		1.19.7					
Southgate		29.4.8	10.9.9	7.10.9	3.17.9		
Eastgate	A 2.17.6	4.8.8	6.11.8	5.8.4	6.16.10		2.11.3
Alvingate	4.15.8			6.18.10			
Westgate Bridge	56.11.6		2.4.10	7.2.8			
Town Walls	14.9.5			18.5.0			42.18.2
The Fortifications						4.10.0	
Totals	80.14.1	44.6.2	28.7.11	47.15.7	24.3.3	4.10.0	68.4.9

CHARGES IN £. s. d.

Also includes charges for

- (A. The Fostern Gate
- (C. The Town Wall
- (D. Work at "Rigny Stile Sconce"
- (E. Foreign Bridge
- (F. New Inn Lane & Bellmans Lane
- (G. Kimbroes
- (H. Bridswell
- (J. Dockham
- B. The Townwall at Southgate

NOTE: No charges were recorded for 1660/61 and 1662/63

TABLE 1.

Charges For The Upkeep of Gloucester's Gates & Defences

Year. (Michaelmas to Michaelmas)	1641/2	1642/3	1643/4	1644/5	1645/6	1646/7	1647/8	1648/9	1649/50	1650/51	1651/52
Upper Northgate	7.4.6 <sup>A</sup>	15.6.9 <sup>C</sup>	1.11.10	6.3.8	17.1.4	2.6.1	29.8.4	1.5.8	5.2.2	15.3.8	J
Lower Northgate		0.17.11 <sup>C</sup>			62.12.1	0.14.8 <sup>D</sup>	1.11.11	1.8.9	3.1.2	4.3.2	
Southgate	1.8.5 <sup>B</sup>	0.6.5.	95.4.4		1.6.10	2.1.4					
Eastgate	2.15.0	3.9.3	10.12.1		4.9.11	5.0.1	4.5.3	3.4.10 <sup>F</sup>	2.15.10	16.6.3	
Westgate		1.12.11	0.4.0	50.12.3	38.5.0			9.2.10	4.2.2		
Alyngate			1.4.11	1.5.8		3.8.8		2.3.11	1.15.3	10.1.9	
Sally Port & Postern Gate			12.13.1								
Westgate Bridge			6.11.4				16.7.3		103.13.11 <sup>G</sup>		
Town Walls		14.4.0	8.3.9			61.17.5 <sup>E</sup>				3.0.0 <sup>K</sup>	
The Fortifications, Repairing City Gates & Drawbridges	93.0.11						4.9.9		99.8.10 <sup>H</sup>	3.12.8	
Levelling the Sconces										34.10.10	
TOTALS	104.8.10	35.17.8	136.5.4	58.12.7	123.15.2	75.8.3	56.2.6	17.6.0	225.4.4	86.18.4	

Also includes charges for

- ( A. Heare lane
- ( B. Barton
- ( C. Alyngate
- ( D. Westgate
- ( E. £29.10.1 at Friars Wall.
- ( F. Drawbridges.
- G. Making the Drawbridge Only.
- H. Mainly North & Southgate Drawbridges making them new.
- J. Northgate Bridge and Walls Each Side
- K. Eastgate Wall only

On 25th August the town crier proclaimed, "All burgress(es) and inhabitants of Gloucester, who are not listed, are to muster themselves, servants or workmen tomorrow morning by six-o'clock, with spades, shovels and mattocks and little baskets at the south gate, to work at the fortifications all that day upon pain of 5s apiece" (26).

On the same day President Bradshaw replied to the mayor's letter of the 23rd saying that they could draw bills upon the Council of State, for the cost of the drawbridges, the money not exceeding £200, and to send up the account of the charges for them. On the 30th August in reply the mayor made thanks for the £200 and said that the drawbridges which were made of "elme" had "become soe rotten and ruinous that going to drawe one of them it fell into the river, and was like to have drowned and spoiled severall persons" (27).

The accounts for the charges were given in great detail and covered the following:

Rebuilding the outward drawbridge at the Northgate £34. 17s. 4d., the drawbridge at the Westgate £60. 13s. 4d., the outward drawbridge at the Eastgate £43. 3s. and the five other bridges £200. Total £338. 13s. 8d. (28).

The Chamberlain's Accounts (Table 1) however for 1650/51 do not agree with the above figures as they show £108. 18s. 11d. for Westgate drawbridge and £99. 8s. 10d mainly on drawbridges for the other gates, total being £208. 7s. 9d. One wonders whether the figures were being misrepresented to the Council of State in order to help with the expenses incurred.

After the defeat of Charles II at Worcester and his subsequent exile it became possible to reduce the military occupation of Gloucester (the citizens themselves, at their own desire having obtained an order from Parliament to dismantle the place)(29) and the sconces at the Eastgate, Southgate, Northgate, St. Oswalds and Friars Orchard were levelled, costing £34. 10s. 10d for 1652/3 (Table 1). We know that there were sconces at Alvingate as John Dorney wrote, "Friday 18th August" (1643), that the enemy had "drawn four peices of ordinance to the Kingsholme, one whereof they planted against the Awyngate, and the sconces thereunto adjoining"(30), but these were not mentioned in the accounts.

Neither is the sconce at Rigney Stile (Rikenel) mentioned when the others were levelled, but perhaps these were built by the Royalists as they were outside the city walls. However we find in 1656/7 that 13s. 9d. was paid to three workmen for work done at Rigney Stile Sconce (31), this would suggest it was still standing at this time.

On 7th December 1657 the council agreed "For the better defence of this City, Mr Alderman Nourse and others appointed to view all the decay of the walls, gates and fences of this city" (32). However we find only a modest sum of money was expended on the defences for that year and even less during the three following years.

Following the crowning of Charles II at Westminster in April 1661 and election riots in Gloucester the following month, with the continuing presence of Roundhead troops, the citizens were changing their sympathies in favour of the Royalists such that on May 15th the King was proclaimed in the city. However even though the corporation sent its loyal greetings (33) the king had not forgotten the Royalist defeat during the seige and the following measures (reported in Heath's "Chronical of the Late intense War"), were ordered.

"There was mention made before the commissioners for Regulating Corporations, for the securing of the peace of the Kingdome by these Gentlemen named for each County, City and Borrough, it was ordered, besides the displacing Officers, that the Walls of the respective Cities and Towns of Gloucester and Coventry, Northampton, Taunton and Leicester, and other places which had Bulwarks and Garrisons, and maintained them throughout the War against the King and were the Reception and maintenance of the Rebellion, should be demolished, as Examples and Security to successive times" (34).

The city accounts for 1661/2 show that £42. 18s. 2d was charged to the town walls of which £40. 17s was "Payd to Augustin Loggins Jun. for hauling of stone from the Town walls and digging them up" (35).

Only part of the walls at this time could have been taken down because the city minutes for 1673 show that it was agreed to make a survey of part of the city wall at the Southgate prior to demolition. Also a subsequent account by Rudder in 1779 says "Part of the city wall tho' reduced to the height of eight or nine feet runs eastward of this gate (Southgate) and is a boundary to the lands of the late friary of Franciscans or Grey Friars. On the west side of the said city gate a small part of the wall remains" (36)

The doors belonging to the gates were ordered to be pulled down shortly after the Restoration, and most of them were given to the city of Worcester (37). About the same time the inscription that was put above the Southgate after the seige was defaced, the Kings arms were set up in the old place with "DISSIPI INIMICI" (Scatter his enemies) above the arms. Below the arms the following inscription "INSIGNIA HAEC REGIA A NVPERIS REBELLIBUS CRVENTIS SVMMO SCELERE DEMOLITA HENRICUS FOWLER ARMIGER HVJVS CIVITATIS EX SPECIALI MANDATO REGIO MAJOR RESTITVENDA CVRAVIT. A.D.MDCLXXI" (38). This roughly translates, "Henry Fowler, Gentlemen, Mayor of this city by special command ordered this Royal insignia to be restored after its bloody desecration in the recent rebellions 1671".

Underneath the above was the motto "PLACITO REGALI SACRVM" (39) (Sacred to the Royal wishes).

In the city minutes for 1676 a covenant was discussed, receiving stones from the city wall for the erection of a pest house in case of contagion.

During the next century the city gates became more and more a nuisance in that they restricted the free flow of traffic and in 1777 the council discussed a Parliamentary Bill which included amongst other measures "altering Westgate Bridge, removing nuisances from the streets etc." (40).

The Council agreed on 27th May 1778 to the taking down of the Eastgate according to the proposals made by Mr John Ricketts (41). On 15th March 1779 the council discussed whether compensation should be allowed to one of the porters of the city who as a result of Eastgate having been pulled down was deprived of the annual sum arising from the Rent of the Lodge (42).

The city rent roll of the North Ward for the period 1781/2 shows that Ja's Lovett paid 10s. Od. for "Pt Lower Northgate,  $\frac{1}{2}$  yr to the day at which time it was pulled down" (43).

The remaining gates except Westgate would seem to have been pulled down probably not later than 1783, although Northgate probably remained until 1786 when a new prison was built to house the prisoners from the Northgate.

The Westgate and bridge, which was said to be both interesting and picturesque (confirmed by various prints) were both destroyed about 1809 (44) to allow a wider bridge to be built in accordance with the parliamentary bill.

Referring to the city wall again, Howitt writing in 1812 says, the length of wall from Constitution Walk around Friars Orchard up to the back of the old Southgate was sold for £120, but it was stipulated that no part of the wall was to be interfered with. Also that "at all reasonable times on the request of the Mayor, any person was to be permitted, named by him, to inspect the wall".

A further section of the wall adjacent to Constitution Walk was destroyed when the foundations for the Art School were dug. Some of the stones removed were used for building the monument at Barbers Bridge (45).

### The Present Day

Today to all appearances the walls and gates have gone, but recently money and much time and labour have been spent by enthusiastic archaeologists uncovering the remains. In 1974 a portion of the North Gate and city wall adjoining St. Johns Lane were excavated and some of the stones from this have been set at ground level inside the new building there. Also at the Eastgate on the old site of the Co-operative Society, the walls and part of the gate tower were unearthed. If we are fortunate these remains will be preserved on view when the new building is erected over it.

The wall is also preserved below ground level in other buildings in the city. The writer's old school (J.T.S.) woodwork shop under the city library was alongside the wall, also the city wall in the basement at the opposite end of this building, adjacent to and now part of the museum, is being opened to view as part of a Roman period exhibit.

Part of that section of wall unearthed by John Bellows, alongside Kings Walk, is now on public view for certain periods during the year. Another section of wall is also preserved below the M.E.B. showrooms in Kings Walk.

The most interesting section can be seen however in the Gloucester Furniture Exhibition Centre at 73 Southgate Street, and reaches 5 ft above ground over a length of about 20 ft. Also exposed below ground level is the bevelled base which identifies the wall in other parts of the city. This section of wall seems to be in what was once called Sweep or Soot Alley.

Finally, a pair of doors from the Southgate, measuring approximately 10 ft high by 12 ft wide (total) are preserved in the Folk Museum, these having had their arched heads cut off when adapted for the prison at the Southgate.

It would seem appropriate to end by remembering the citizens working at the gates in 1651 and seeing that history repeats itself more peacefully inasmuch that today we have seen, "the citizens (archaeologists) muster in the morning with spades, shovels, haversacks and little brushes to work at the gates".

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THE PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH A  
DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY OF HUNTLEY 1661-1800

by JOHN A. EASTWOOD

INTRODUCTION

A cursory glance at the available data appertaining to the population of Huntley raises some interesting questions. Why, for example, was there a decline in the population after 1650?

Was the apparent sharp rise after 1780 caused by an increase in birth rate or due to immigration?

This paper describes the investigation of Huntley's population and is directed towards answering these and other questions. It is a study which might at first sight appear relatively easy. There are a number of documents relating to the parish which contain information about the population and offer scope for analysis.

The object of the survey is to produce a comprehensive analysis from the earliest available source until about 1871. If the Domesday Survey is ignored this period would have hopefully covered a period of about 300 years. For convenience the study period was divided into two parts, and this paper attempts to describe the research up until the end of the eighteenth century, although occasional facts have been taken from the later period and used for comparison. This point was selected because it marks the point at which reasonably accurate data, in the form of the decennial census, becomes available. Prior to this date it is necessary to calculate the population from other sources and so provide the base data of the study. When the analysis is completed selected periods will be taken and compared to produce trends and patterns of population change and movement.

THE PARISH OF HUNTLEY

Huntley is situated about 7½ miles west of Gloucester on the main Ross and Hereford road. It appears to have been first mentioned in the Domesday Survey. The Church is known to have existed since the early 12th century and probably even as early as 1080. According to Bigland the original church was very small (1).

Samuel Rudder, in his New History of Gloucestershire published in 1779 describes Huntley as a parish containing good arable and pasture land. Bigland, writing about 13 years later, stated that about one-third of the parish was considered to be waste land, but it had subsequently been enclosed and served as a nursery for timber. Both Rudder and Bigland mention iron ore deposits in the parish.

There are six adjoining parishes plus that of Newent about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile from Huntley's northern boundary. In terms of population in 1801 Huntley ranked fourth in size; a relative position which had probably remained unchanged since 1563 when it consisted of 40 households (2). It is interesting to note that, with the exception of Blaisdon, Huntley's parish church is nearer for certain residents of adjoining parishes than their own, an important fact to be remembered when the migratory trends are analysed.

### SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The parish registers provide essential material for any detailed study of population before 1801. Despite the limitations found with the Huntley registers, any study without them would have been impossible. No other source provides more than a fraction of the information required. The early registers of the parish were destroyed in a fire in the late 1650s. The earliest surviving entry is for 1661 this having been made in retrospect as no regular records were kept until 1679. Problems experienced in using registers are discussed in more detail below.

For the period from 1749 until 1760 details relating to Huntley can also be found in the records of Blaisdon (3). Most of these entries are duplicates of entries in the Huntley registers although four are unique to the Blaisdon record. During this period John Jelf held the office of rector of Blaisdon and curate of Huntley, which suggests that perhaps the Blaisdon registers should also be consulted.

F.S. Hockaday has collected numerous notes from the registers and other ecclesiastical records of Gloucestershire. His 'Abstracts' (4) includes interesting material relating to Huntley including a transcription of the parish register entries from 1661 until 1736 with the exception of the ten year period from 1669 which is also missing from the original register. Hockaday is much easier to read than the registers and although no exhaustive checks have been made, the abstracts would appear to be accurate.

The bishop's transcripts (5) held in the diocesan archives are another useful source providing new information and clarifying some entries in the parish registers which are difficult to read. The earliest document consulted relates to the year 1638/9 but some entries are difficult to decipher. The rector's annual returns were either not made on a regular basis, or have not survived; however they are available for most years from 1680 until 1812. There are a number of inconsistencies between the transcripts and the original registers; perhaps the most obvious being duplicated and triplicated entries in the transcripts for 1771, 1772 and 1773. The general accuracy of the registers is discussed below.

While the sources mentioned above can probably be classed as primary and secondary data there are a number of supplementary records and other sources which cannot be overlooked.

One comprehensive set of documents providing useful information are the Land Tax returns (6). In the case of Huntley these cover the period from 1776 until 1832, although not all years exist. The returns provide details of land owners and occupiers, and when used in conjunction with other documents prove useful in helping to establish residency within the parish.

A large part of Huntley was owned by the Probyn family of Newland and there are a number of estate papers (7) relating to property transfers and tenancy agreements after 1725, which provide further evidence of residence. Their principle limitation is that they do not cover the whole period and there is no way of knowing if the papers are complete.

At first sight the calendar of Gloucestershire marriage allegations compiled by Brian Frith appears to be a useful source of data. However the allegation itself was not necessarily followed by a marriage. Even where the marriage did take place it did not necessarily take place in the parish of either of the intending partners. The place of residence stated in the allegation is sometimes misleading and could in fact refer to a place of temporary residence (8). The marriage allegations relating to Huntley cover the period from 1661 until 1698. For a large proportion of this period (i.e. 1661-1678) the entries in the parish registers are incomplete so it is not always possible to confirm that the marriages did in fact take place within the parish. The records do however help explain the "disappearance" of people from the parish.

In 1717 a survey commissioned by the Duke of Kent, who was lord of the manor prior to Sir Edmund Probyn, listed all his tenants and their leases (9). It also gives the ages of people mentioned although these do not always correspond with ages which can be derived from the baptism register. While not listing all the inhabitants it is nevertheless a useful source of information. Just over 120 years later the tithe map and apportionments provides a similar list of inhabitants.

There are a number of published sources which provide interesting details about the parish and its inhabitants. Many local historians have been critical about these works because of alleged inaccuracies. However they cannot be ignored. No source has been found to be completely reliable and it must remain a matter of conjecture as to which documents offer the best information. The earliest of these works is the Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire by Sir Robert Atkyns originally published in 1712. Atkyns confined himself mainly to the history of the parish but he does make reference to 45 houses "and about 240 inhabitants". The average number of births and burials are also quoted; these averages are consistent with details in the parish registers. Samuel Rudder in his New History of Gloucestershire (1779) follows the same general style as Atkyns. According to Rudder the population in 1779 stood at 269. Ralph Bigland's papers published in 1791 are much more interesting from the demographic viewpoint, as he not only lists the rectors from 1548 and people summoned by the Heralds

in 1682/3 but also gives a statistical summary of marriages, births and deaths between 1781 and 1790 and details of inscriptions on 79 tombs and headstones.

There is one other printed source worthy of mention. This is Men and Armour for Gloucestershire compiled by John Smyth. It lists all able bodied men between the ages of 20 and 60 who were fit for military service in 1608. Although there were certain exclusions it lists 46 men from Huntley together with an indication of their age.

Other material relating principally to the 19th century includes the census returns and various trade directories first published about 1850. These fall outside the period of the initial study and are therefore not considered in any detail. Four sources from the earlier period have yet to be studied and these include wills proved in Gloucester, the poor law records, the Hearth Tax returns and parish accounts from 1727 which include details of tithes collected.

The list of sources of data described above is not exhaustive and other material does exist but is not known to be available locally. It is not intended to consider other material until detailed analysis of local data has been completed after which the situation will be re-appraised.

#### GENERAL DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS

Before considering the problems of using the local information it is probably worth noting a few points raised by a number of writers on population studies. It has been found that many generalisations made are not appropriate to the records of Huntley.

The problem of underregistration due to Catholic and Nonconformist families within a parish probably has little, if any, significance in Huntley. In 1603 there was no evidence of Catholics or Nonconformists; in 1676 there was one recorded Nonconformist (2) (there were few in adjacent parishes either).

A much more serious problem is that of under-registration for other reasons. According to Hollingsworth (10), "in England, it is known from other sources, and obvious on close analysis, that the proportion of persons baptised of those which were actually born, was substantially below 100%." As Chambers states "the bringing of babies to the font was a less pressing problem than the disposal of a corpse in the graveyard" (11). In the case of Huntley omissions would not appear uncommon. Only on completion of the study will it be possible to quantify the possible significance of under-registration. Tranter suggests three reasons for omissions in the 18th and early 19th centuries; growing disinterest in religious observance; rapid geographical re-distribution of the population; and the spread of Protestant Nonconformist religion (12). While the latter can probably be disregarded in the case of Huntley one might add oversight on the part of the rector to make the necessary entry. Hollingsworth goes on to say that all

English registers are arguably incomplete at all periods and in 1700 about 30% of births were probably not recorded as baptised (13). If this were true of Huntley it could seriously affect the planned analysis.

Many writers point out that some parish registers give full information about occupations of bridegrooms at the time of their marriage, or the ages of individuals at their death. As it will be seen there are periods in the registers of Huntley where a minimum of information is given. This is particularly noticeable in the case of burials. Tranter points out that when women are buried their marital status is normally recorded and where only the name is given it is normally safe to assume that she died unmarried (14). It would be unwise to accept this statement in the case of the Huntley registers.

### HUNTLEY PARISH REGISTERS

The period under study is covered by three separate books which form the parish registers of Huntley. The earliest surviving register covers the period from 1661 until 1777. Absence of registers from earlier years is explained by an entry in the register stating that the parsonage was burnt down in the latter end of the incumbency of the Rev. Thomas Unwyn (probably the late 1650s). Layout and style in the surviving registers vary. Between 1661 and 1668 marriages baptisms and burials are shown separately. This can probably be explained by the fact that these details were copied from "an imperfect Register" made by Unwyn's successor the Rev. Issac Hague. The absence of entries after 1668 until 1679 is further explained by the allegation that Hague "did not keep regular account till the year 1679". All these earlier details are believed to have been entered by Jackman Morse who was rector from 1726 until 1765.

The first entries made by Isaac Hague, probably in his own hand, run chronologically from 1679 until 1688; marriages, baptisms and burials are not separate. Details appear in Latin until 1686, after which all subsequent entries are in English.

With the installation of a new rector following Hague's death the style changed. Details of baptisms, marriages and burials are grouped separately for each year. This pattern continued until 1767. However with the passing of the Marriage Act in 1754 separate marriage registers were introduced which resulted in many, although not all, details being entered twice for a number of years.

Records of baptisms and burials are inconsistent with the bishops transcripts and many omissions occur in the registers as illustrated below.

#### Details of Entries Made

1768	)	
1769	)	Missing
1770	)	

1771 Baptisms and Burials  
 1772 Missing  
 1773 Baptisms and Burials  
 1774 Burials  
 1775 Burials  
 1776 Baptisms  
 1777 Baptisms

After 1776 a new register for recording baptisms and burials was introduced. Style became much more formalised, baptisms being completely separated from burials. This register covers the period up until 1812. The Marriages register mentioned above is haphazard in layout and content. Pages 1 to 24 should show marriages by banns while page 25 onwards should record marriages by licence. Examples of typical entries are shown in the front of the book. Early entries follow the prescribed style but gradually they become less uniform. Details of banns are recorded before the actual marriage to which they refer. By 1799 the entries relating to marriages by banns had reached page 24, the limit of space allowed, and after this date all marriages were shown towards the end of the register. Theoretically marriages by banns and by licence should have been shown in separate parts of the register, but in practice this has not been strictly applied. Between 1755 and 1773 records of marriage by licence follow a chronological sequence, but subsequent entries include marriages by banns and dates run as follows:-  
 1797; 1793; 1774; 1786; 1801; 1802; 1804; 1806

Page 21 probably covering the year 1797 is missing which could explain why that year appears out of sequence in the register.

Looking a little closer at the entries one or two interesting observations can be made. The parish of residence is quite often stated although the impression gained from reading the registers is that there are periods during which the rector did not record such details. Occupations are likewise included but this only appears to have been generally fashionable between 1679 and 1684/5 after which they were gradually omitted except where they were an aid to the identification of the individual mentioned.

Entries showing illegitimate births sometimes also record the reputed father's name in addition to that of the mother. There are also two or three entries in the baptism register where the child's surname does not correspond to that of the recorded parents. It may be possible to explain this practice when the study is complete but in the early stages this causes an added difficulty when analysing details.

After 1754 the marriage register records details of witnesses at the wedding. As the register was signed by the couple being married and the witnesses an assessment of literacy in the parish will probably be possible

The burial details range from basic facts (e.g. date and name) to more informative details such as age and cause of death. Entries recording the burial of a woman sometimes

state the husband's name or the deceased's marital status if a spinster or widow, but on other occasions only the name is shown. Where the entry relates to a man there is never any reference to his wife. The parents of children who died are sometimes recorded. Age at death is not generally shown although it does appear to have been recorded if the deceased was aged 80 or more. The ages quoted are not always accurate and are sometimes vague (e.g. "aged 90 odd"). On 24 January 1683 the first recorded burial in accordance with the Wool Act took place. Most subsequent burials up until 1685 recorded similar details after which the details seem to have been omitted. In a few cases cause of death is stated but this seems to have been restricted to deaths resulting from accidents e.g. "drowned in the Well at the Crown"; "killed by a waggon"; "who had his death by reap hook;" and another who died after falling from his horse. There are one or two entries relating to places of residence which raise some interesting questions about the general mobility of the population; one burial in 1662 records a child from Frampton-on-Severn and another in 1729 records the death of a woman from Arlingham. Both are particularly interesting because the villages mentioned are on the east bank of the Severn.

It is almost certain that after 1688 the register was written up at the end of each year. Unless this procedure was adopted it would have been difficult to group marriages, baptisms and burials separately. There are two loose sheets of paper relating to christenings and burials for the years 1803/4 and 1804/5. Details from these sheets are also to be found in the appropriate place in the register. Could it be that these loose pages were in fact the rector's original notes of services performed?

In the front of the earlier register there are some interesting notes relating to the perambulation in 1759; notes concerning the poor law administration and bequests to the poor; rectors of the parish from Thomas Unwyn (c.1600) until 1817; and patrons of the church. Most of these notes were made by Jackman Morse. Indirectly these notes will prove useful in confirming some details, particularly relating to family relationships.

Unfortunately the parish registers of Huntley are inconsistent in style and detail. There are numerous cases of duplicated entries and a strong indication that there were periods when entries have either been omitted or removed. There are instances where Bigland, for example, quotes details from tombstones, but no entry can be found in the burial register. Reference has already been made to page 21 of the marriage register which is missing. A page has also been cut from the earlier register which relates to the year 1767 or thereabouts, and some baptism details for 1776/7 have been entered twice. The inaccuracies will of course influence any demographic analysis. However the Huntley registers still provide the most comprehensive and useful set of records for the study in hand.



## ANALYSIS

The depth and scope of the analysis being made from the available raw data falls into a number of natural classes.

- (i) Births
- (ii) Marriages and family structure
- (iii) Deaths
- (iv) Other

Within each class it is possible to carry out simple analysis e.g. number of births, marriages or deaths each year. By carrying out simple calculations from this basic data it is also possible to prepare statistics showing age at marriage or the natural growth of the population. More complex analysis is time consuming but it produces much more interesting information about family structures and migration for example. While simple analysis is quick and usually only entails counting entries in the registers, more detailed work presents its own problems which will be discussed later.

Before any real work can be undertaken it is necessary to ascertain details of population at specified dates. Tranter suggests two methods (15). The first is to divide the number of births, marriages or deaths for a given year or period, by the assumed crude rates per thousand. If this method is used to estimate Huntley's population in, say, 1766 the inhabitants would have numbered 86. If the year 1761 had been chosen the population would have been 428. Both figures, even if considered in isolation, are highly suspect. Clearly, it is necessary to select a representative year, or better still to use an average. The 9 year average for 1759/67 would then indicate the population to have been 222. This latter figure is probably much more realistic than the first two quoted, but preliminary researches show this figure is probably lower than the actual. Tranter himself points out that this method depends on the accuracy of assumptions, regarding birth rates, and the possibility of variations depending on the period selected. Even so it also assumes that under-registration is not a significant problem. This factor could be serious in the case of communities with a small population, as in the case of Huntley.

Another method which can be used to calculate population trend is to take the known population at a specific date e.g. the 1801 census figure and to calculate the net change to population using details from the baptism and burial registers. Even this method produces its own problems, principally that of migration. Ignoring baptisms and burials from persons known and resided in adjacent parishes the population for Huntley in 1764 would have been estimated at 127. This figure is thought to be inaccurate, and in fact this is the case it does indicate that there must have been a fairly high degree of migration into the village.

Hoskins suggests yet another method which is to calculate the average number of births over a 10 year period and multiply the result by 30 (16). This gives an estimated population of 190.

It can be seen that the results derived from using the three methods discussed can produce widely different population estimates. Without a reasonably accurate population base, particularly with a small population, the various rates and trends calculated could be very misleading. Further analysis and discussion on this point must be left until the study is completed.

Before the more detailed analysis can be undertaken it is necessary to relate dates, births or baptisms, marriages and burials to individuals. Using one page per person it is possible to collect information about people who resided in the village over the study period. As mentioned above this data is not restricted to entries in the parish registers and much information can be gleaned from other sources to help piece together the demographic jig-saw puzzle. During the study, which covers approximately 120 years, over 2,500 people have been identified. In many cases only a single entry in the available records has been found; in others there are numerous entries over the life span of the person. Sometimes there are frequent references to an individual over a period of years and then references cease, without explanation. Where the lack of references cannot be explained by a burial entry in the register the question of migration must be raised again. Even though the study is incomplete, the lack of data on certain people must be explained either by the theory above concerning residence in relation to the parish boundary or be due to migration. These, of course, may not be the only explanations.

Information collected and recorded about people is of little use in its raw state. Simple analysis can reveal certain statistics relating to age at marriage, average age at death, and average size of family, to name but a few. For more detailed work it is necessary to reconstruct families. Hollingsworth suggests that it is seldom possible to reconstruct more than 10% of families because of migration (17). Initial work on the reconstruction has been made. In some cases success came easily while in others the only common bond is the same surname. Two examples are given in appendices B and C.

On examination these appendices reveal many more problems associated with the study. It is unfortunately sometimes necessary to guess possible family linkage after weighing all available facts. Looking at the Davis family, the earliest recorded person having the name was Alice Davis who died in Huntley in 1667. The link between Alice and Francis is uncertain although it is known from the parish registers that Francis once resided in St. Briavels. From his marriage to Elizabeth Jones in 1662 there were at least three children, and possibly a fourth, Edward. As mentioned above the parish registers are incomplete from 1669-78, a period very important in the case of this family. Had the entries existed it may have explained why there is no further reference to Alice (born 1665), and could perhaps have confirmed the relationship between Edward and Francis. No evidence has yet been found to suggest that Elizabeth (the elder) and William were ever married. Many more questions arise from further study. It is interesting to note that after 1748 there was no surviving male issue of this branch

of the Davis family and it therefore effectively dies out. There are isolated references to people bearing the name Davis (Appendix C) but none fit into the pattern except perhaps John who married Susannah Mills in 1703, who may have been another son of Francis. The two examples illustrate some of the problems associated with family reconstruction. Unlike the genealogist who would try to find further references to people in adjacent parishes, this study is restricted to Huntley and searches beyond the records of the parish are usually unnecessary.

### PROBLEMS

During the collection of data a number of problems had to be overcome. Perhaps the most obvious was handwriting. The earliest document used was the bishops transcript for 1638 which was written in a hand which resembled the Tudor script. Many of the early documents were in Latin although only elementary knowledge of the language is required to translate the parish register entries.

One thing which was found to be confusing early in the study was the variety of different spellings of surnames. The following examples are typical of the problem:-

Boddingham	Cassell
Bodenham	Casswell
Bodingham	Caswell
Bodnam	Coswell

Probably the most confusing name encountered was 'Fokes' which was for a long time treated in isolation, then, more by accident, it was found to link with 'Fox'. Unfortunately neither of these names was common in Huntley during the 18th century so it is not possible to be absolutely certain of the linkage as the name was present for only about 5 years.

The most difficult task of all was posed by common names. In the 18th century 11 references were found to a William Fowle, none of which provided an obvious link. Although many of the entries must have related to the same person, family reconstruction, coupled with an element of subjective judgment based on unconfirmed statistics relating to average age at marriage, provided a degree of clarification. Even so, four "William Fowles" remained unlinkable and doubt must remain as to the accuracy of the other links for the time being.

### CONCLUSION

In concluding this summary of the problems encountered it is perhaps worth looking briefly at a few of the statistics which have emerged so far. It must be emphasised that in some cases statistics are based on incomplete analysis or small samples.

The graph in Appendix D is in fact where the study began. It was developed from available data and refined as other details came to light. The earliest reference to Huntley's population (not shown on the graph) was in the

Domesday Survey of 1086 when the male population was stated to be 11. A survey of Gloucestershire village population, by Dr. Alicia Percival, was published in Local Population Studies in the Spring 1972 edition. This paper quotes various population figures for the parish from 1563. By applying factors based on ratios of age structures, size of families and households which have been suggested by various writers, it is possible to make an estimate of population trend. As we have seen these methods can produce wide fluctuations from what would seem to be realistic levels so one can only guess as to its accuracy. After 1800 the figures used are those published in the census returns. From the parish registers it has been possible to extract details appertaining to the baptisms and burials. The graphs in Appendices E and F show the 9-year trends. Assuming for the moment that the population figures are accurate, the birth rate in 1690 was about 35 per thousand. Fifty years later it had dropped to 20 per thousand and by 1800 it had risen quite dramatically to 41 per thousand. The first figure could be reasonably accurate, but by comparison with other studies the figures for later periods would appear suspect. Turning our attention to burials rates, at the same dates, the figures would be 29, 21 and 18 per thousand respectively. These figures may be more realistic than those given for births although the rate for 1740 must be questioned.

It is not suggested that these figures reflect the true situation as further research and analysis is necessary. They do however raise some interesting questions. Was there a considerable degree of under-registration of baptisms about 1740 or is the population figure quoted above too high? If birth rate was only 20 per thousand why was it lower than in other areas? Had all the young families left the village leaving behind an older population, in which case why was death rate only 21 per thousand? These are all questions which must be answered before any specific statements can be made.

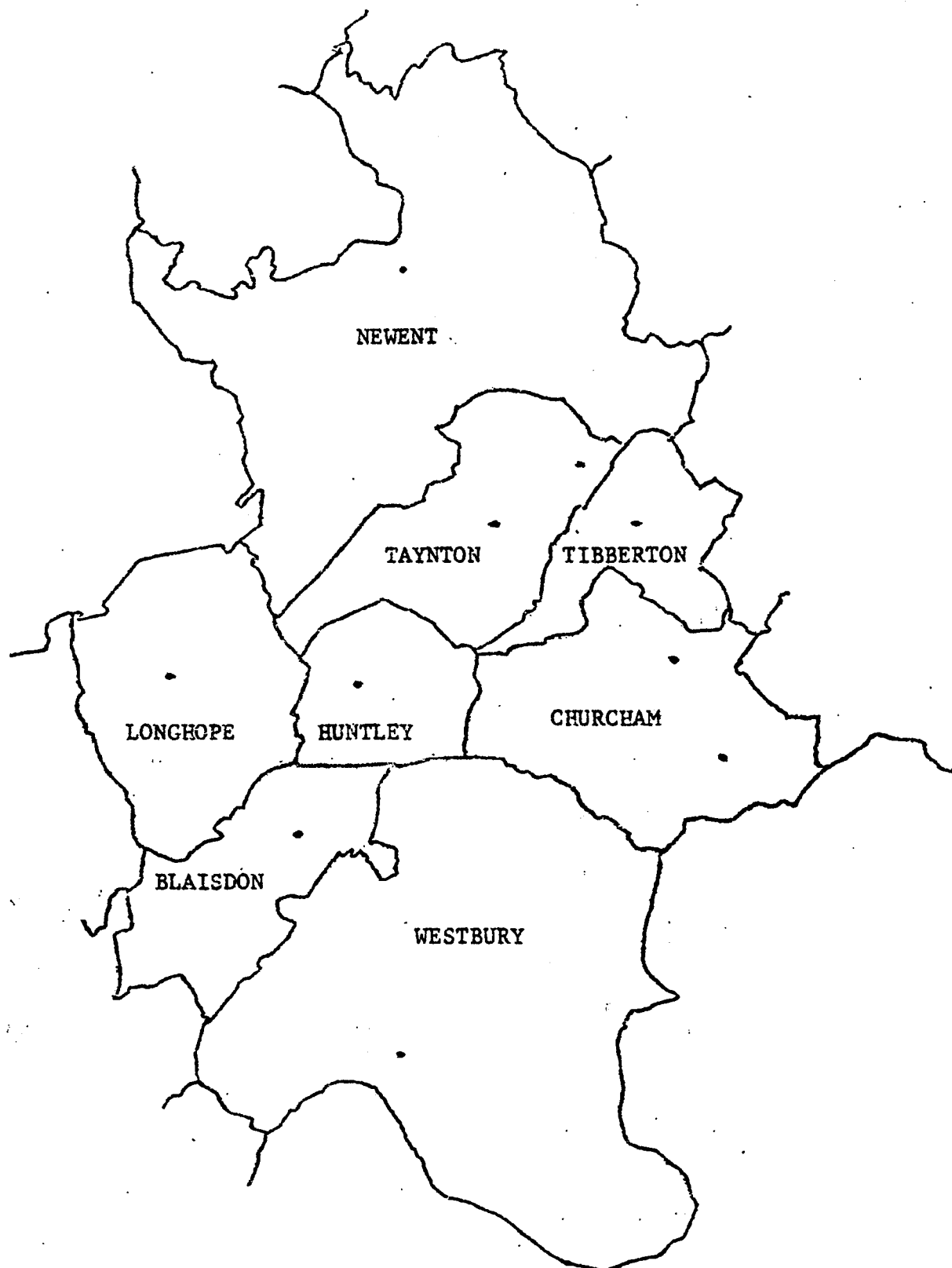
Early figures show a changing trend in age at marriage. During the late 17th century men married about 25 years of age and women at 24. In the 18th century there was a tendency to marry later with men marrying at 28 and women at 25. Perhaps further analysis can explain this trend, or at least offer some suggestions.

The problems encountered have raised many more questions about the parish population than might have been asked had the supply of data been plentiful, so the mere fact that problems have been encountered has been useful. Early attempts at record linkage (family reconstruction) suggest that there may have been a high degree of migration, as discussed earlier. The reason for this would be interesting to establish and this could well develop into a separate study. Obviously the level of under-registration must be assessed if possible. When the statistics are compiled it will be interesting to compare the findings with other studies and also with the 19th century population of Huntley. Much work remains, and it is hoped that the results will be published later when available.

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PARISHES ADJACENT TO HUNTLEY



- Anglican Churches.  
Parishes based on existing boundaries

THE DAVIS FAMILY OF HUNTLEY C 1667-1748

APPENDIX B

— Confirmed links  
 - - - - Unconfirmed links

= Alice  
 d.29.7.67

Francis = Elizabeth Jones  
 (St. Brivals)  
 m.25.5.1662

d.5.11.1689 d.2.3.1713

Edward = Susannah  
 d.5.5.1742 d.10.5.1729

Anne Elizabeth Mary  
 b.22.2.1665 b.27.4.1675 b.16.6.1682  
 d.9.3.1734(?) d.9.8.1743 (?)

Elizabeth = Stephen  
 b.24.6.1705 Aldridge  
 m.1.4.1723

John  
 b.6.4.1697  
 d.3.5.1748

Mary = Giles Merriott  
 b.19.1.1707  
 m.14.1.1740

Anne  
 b.30.9.1698

Edward  
 b.22.1.1710  
 d.5.2.1710

Thomas  
 b.25.5.1701  
 d.15.6.1712

William  
 b.18.7.1703  
 d.14.1.1746

REFERENCES TO THE NAME DAVIS UNLINKED TO APPENDIX B.

John Davis married (Susannah Mills) 2.11.1703

John Davis buried 23.4.1730

Susannah Davis buried 1.11.1711

Susan Davis married (Thomas Warne) 30.3.1730

Charles Davis (of Westbury) buried 9.6.1739

Maria Davis married (John Dobbs) 30.9.1745

John Davis married (Hannah Davis) 24.12.1755

Mary Davis (daughter of John Davis) baptised 31.7.1757

Sarah Davis buried 1.1.1786

Thomas Davis (Son of Sarah Davis) baptised 27.5.1781 buried 5.6.1784

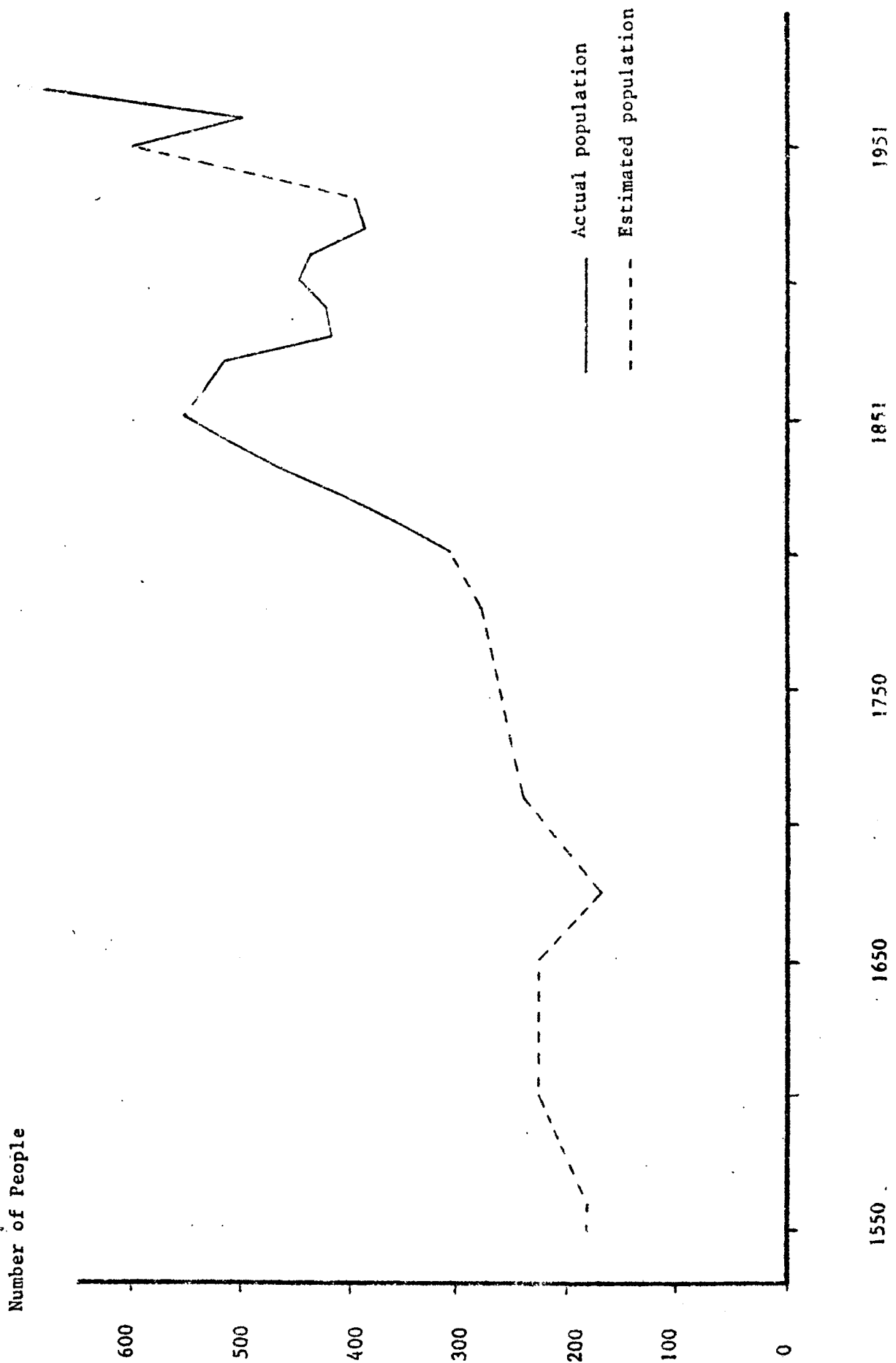
John Davis married (Elizabeth Sterry) 28.10.1788

Ann Davis (daughter of James Davis) buried 21.3.1796

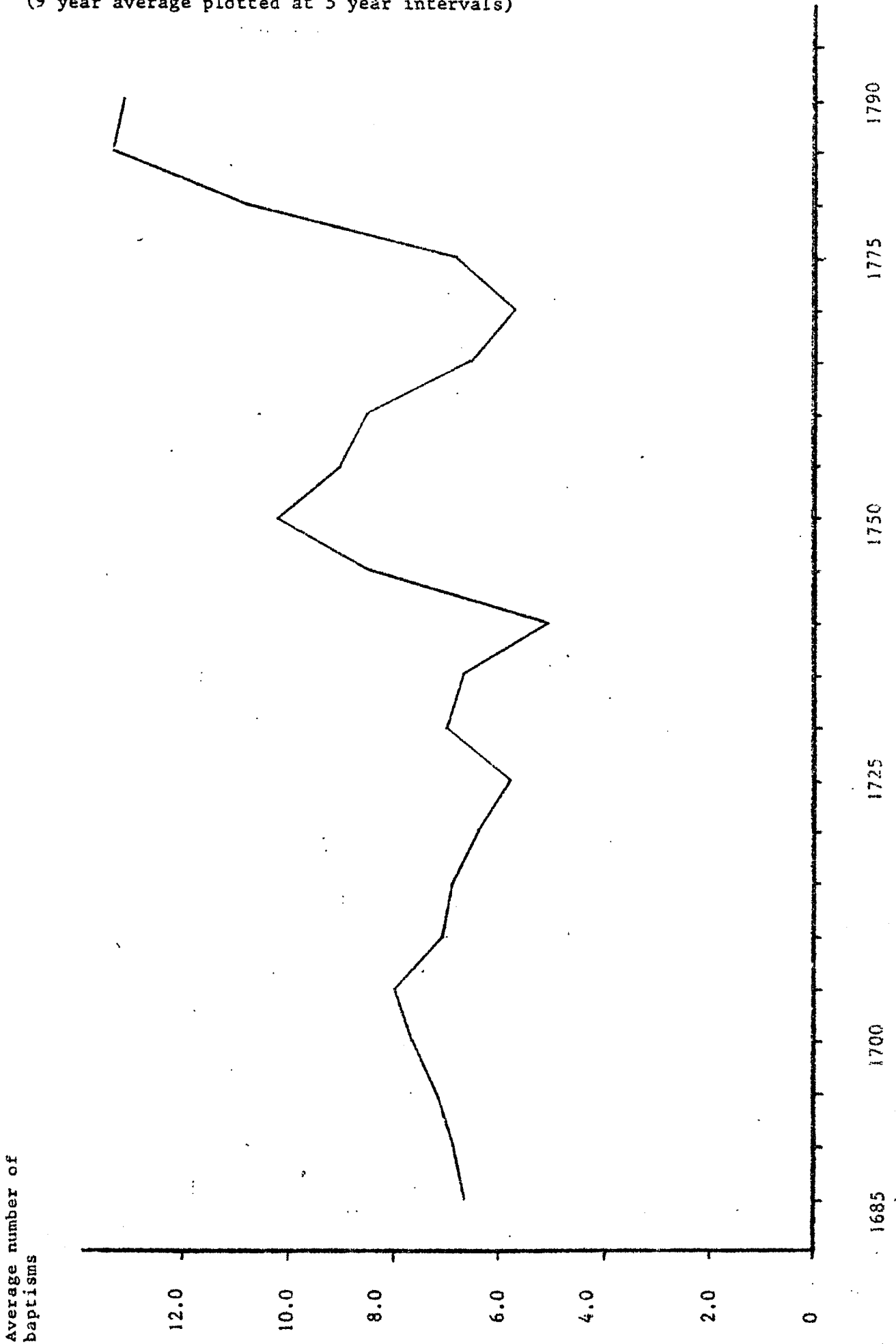
Elienor Davis (Wife of John Davis) buried 22.11.1798



POPULATION TREND OF HUNTLEY 1550 - 1971

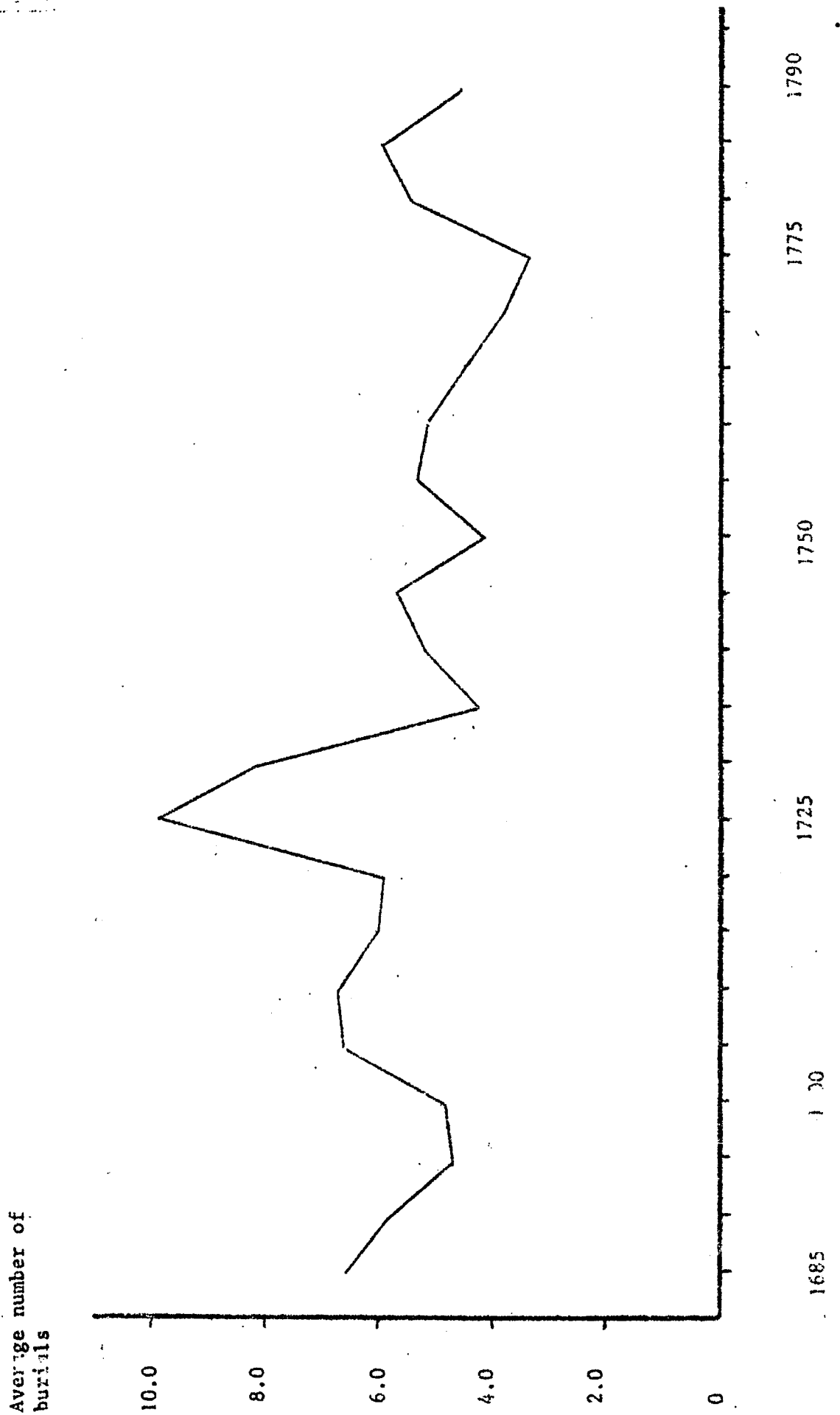


AVERAGE NUMBER OF BAPTISMS IN HUNTLEY 1680 - 1790  
(9 year average plotted at 5 year intervals)



AVERAGE NUMBER OF BURLIALS IN HUNTLEY 1680 - 1790  
(9 year average plotted at 5 year intervals)

APPENDIX F.



THE HUNTLEY MANOR ESTATE 1717 - 1883

by MRS. J.M. EASTWOOD

In 1717 a survey of the manors of Huntley, Netherleigh and Longhope was produced for the Duke of Kent who owned the larger part of all three parishes. The survey consists of large maps and details of all tenants. It appears to have been a preliminary to the sale of his Gloucestershire estates. In 1725 an Act of Parliament was passed vesting the estates of Henry Duke of Kent in Hereford, Monmouth and Gloucestershire in the Duke and his heirs which allowed these properties to be sold. His other estates in Essex, Suffolk, Bedford, Hertford, Northampton and Leicester were settled in lieu of the freed portions. The Gloucestershire estates were to be sold and the proceeds divided between his daughters.

In 1721 Edmund Probyn purchased a number of the major farm properties in Huntley. In 1726 he raised a mortgage of £1,500 at 4½% interest against 'all that Manor of Huntley in the County of Gloucester'. The mortgage was cleared less than two years later, in December 1727, at a total cost of £1,562.10s.0d.

Edmund Probyn was baptised on 16th July 1678 at Newland and was Sargeant at Law of the Middle Temple in 1725. Two years later he became a Justice of the Kings Bench and was Knighted. He became Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1741. His property in Longhope and other parishes adjoining Huntley were initially administered from London and later from Newland. During the next 160 years the Probyn family increased their property holding in Huntley until 1883 when the estate was put up for sale.

The period covered by the Probyn family ownership was one of great agricultural development. New ideas on crop rotations, livestock breeding and land inclosure were introduced. In a local situation the owners attitude to these changes would either speed improvements or delay change. The 1717 survey of Huntley showed Wood End as the principal farm with 141 acres of land. It was twice the size of any other farm in the parish. In addition to Wood End there were ten leaseholds of between 20 and 75 acres and nine of under 20 acres. While most of these centred around three or four adjacent plots they all had outlying fields in other parts of the parish. This situation suggests the Church Field, the Hayes, Rye Meadow and Sow Meadows were once open fields and had been split up to provide a number of holdings. Certainly by 1717 four or five plots existed by each name and the larger leaseholds could claim a portion of each. 23 freeholders were listed as paying yearly

rents to the manor of between 2d. and 5s. In addition 8 incroachments are shown on Huntley Hill, the largest being 2 acres 1 rood 17 perches and the smallest 13 perches. Half of these incroachments did not contain buildings. The church tithe accounts indicate that by 1736-8 the number of incroachments and small holdings had increased considerably. Unfortunately it is not until 1800 that a further complete list of land holdings is available.

Sir Edmund Probyn died in 1742 and left his property to his nephew John Hopkins on the proviso that he change his name to Probyn. John Hopkins/Probyn married Ann Howell whose father purchased a number of pieces of land in Huntley in 1751. These land holdings were added to the Probyn estate at a later date. John Probyn died in 1773 and was succeeded by his son Edmund Probyn. The Land Tax returns of 1777 show 53 persons as liable to pay Land Tax. If the sums assessed are taken as a guide Wood End was still the principal farm paying £2.17s.9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d. Northend Farm and Pool Farm were both assessed at over £1 as were the holdings of the Reverend John Morse. After 1787 the Land Tax returns show the proprietors of each property in addition to the occupier. Out of £56.10s.0d. due for the parish £40.9s.9d. related to Probyn-owned property. In 1793 an Act was passed which allowed landowners to redeem their liability to Land Tax in return for a once-off payment against each property. In 1799 Edmund Probyn obtained certificates of redemption for most of his property in Huntley. The principle farms of Wood End - 236 acres, Northend - 100 acres and Little Northend - 96 acres were thus left free of compulsory outgoings. A number of rent lists exist for the period 1722-1799 and although many only show chief tenants others list all rents payable to the manor. There are a number of notes about the late payment of rents and arrears lists seem to have been produced regularly but unfortunately there is no indication of the action taken to recover these amounts. Subsequent rent lists with details of late payments suggest that the arrears were collected after the arrears list was produced before further payments fell due.

In 1794 an exchange of land was undertaken between Edmund Probyn and Thomas Blunt. This gave Edmund Probyn lands in Abinghall and a cash balance of £316.18s.0d. in exchange for the White Hart premises and lands in Huntley with lands of Chesgrove previously leased to Thos. Blunt.

Josiah Coleman of Longhope appears to have acted as agent for Edmund Probyn in the sale of timber from the estate. In 1797 following advertisements, an auction at the Red Lion Inn resulted in the timber of Castle Hill Wood, on the Huntley parish border, being sold for £10.19s.0d. an acre. The purchaser, William

Young, paid a deposit of 10% of the total purchase price i.e., £60.4s.0d. immediately. The notices of auction list the conditions of sale including some to protect the property from excess damage during the felling and hauling of the timber. The purchaser was allowed almost two years to clear the timber but was to exercise due care not to cause damage to other property on the estate. Edmund Probyn died in 1819 and the properties passed to his son John Probyn. John Probyn was vicar of Longhope for some years and was buried there in 1843. There are no records of his influence on the estate.

His successor to the estate ownership was his son, another John Probyn. The Land Tax returns of 1826 give additional information about property in the parish. At this time 19 properties and 6 pieces of land were owned by people other than the Reverend Probyn. The land assessments suggest that they were all small holdings.

The Huntley tithe map and documents which are dated 1841 show that the Rev. John Probyn owned 1081 of the 1409 acres affected by tithes. Of the remaining acreage covered by tithes 153 acres were waste land and 45 acres were under the control of the Rev. Daniel Capper leaving only 130 acres in individual ownership.

The Probyn owned properties fell into the following size groups:-

Over 200 acres	1
100 - 200 acres	2
75 - less than 100 acres	1
50 - less than 75 acres	1
30 - less than 50 acres	5
20 - less than 30 acres	1
10 - less than 20 acres	2
5 - less than 10 acres	5
Less than 5 acres	92

It is interesting to note that some 356 acres was let to the Drinkwater family. John Drinkwater also owned 5 acres and rented a further 3 acres in Huntley from the parish officers of Westbury. The Trustees of the Poor owned some 6 acres which were leased out in 5 portions and included 4 properties.

In 1856 an award was made for the inclosure of Huntley Common. This set aside two areas which were to be under the control of the churchwardens and overseers of the poor - one for exercise and recreation and the other as allotments for the labouring poor. (Both of these areas remain today and are still used for

their intended purposes). Persons with a claim to the common worth less than £5 received a cash benefit while the remainder were allotted plots of land. The main recipient was Edmund Probyn who was allocated 1090 acres while the next largest award was 49 acres to the Rev. Daniel Capper in respect of glebe land. Edmund Probyn was to purchase one plot of land - 9 acres in all - for £470 which was to provide the finance for the inclosure award. The award also provides for an exchange of land between Edmund Probyn and the Rev. Daniel Capper which included part of the glebe lands. The award of land on the common was followed by the formation of Yew Tree Farm which also absorbed other land in the immediate vicinity.

Some of the lands exchanged were used by Edmund Probyn to form the park and garden of the manor house built in 1862. The manor was built in French Chateau Style with S.S. Teulon as architect. Twenty years later in the sale particulars it was described as:-

'Most substantially built in the French Chateau Style planned in every way for the family of distinction'

The outbuildings and yards included stabling for nine horses, a coach house, walled kitchen and fruit gardens, vinery, orchard houses, melon, cucumber and forcing pits. The house had 14 principal bedrooms and 6 secondary or servants rooms and a lift from the ground floor. Attention is drawn to the complete service of hot and cold water and the 'never failing spring' of the purest water which rises on the hill immediately at the rear of the mansion. The premises were 'heated throughout with hot water pipes'.

John Probyn died in 1863 and was buried in Longhope. His successor was his son Edmund Probyn of Huntley Manor an ex-Dragoon Guards officer. Thus for the first time the estate was administered from Huntley Manor.

In 1872 a further inclosure award effected Huntley Hill and Brights Hill Common. Edmund Probyn was awarded 80 acres in addition to a number of small plots relative to land purchased by him during the proceeding few years. The awards included 22 acres to Rev. Henry Miles, the new Rector of Huntley. Only 3 other awards exceeded 5 acres.

A further exchange of land in 1874 is shown as coming under the inclosure award and Improvement Act. This affected the exchange of land adjacent to the common in Huntley against land by the railway station in Longhope between Edmund Probyn and John Constance.

When the estate was put up for sale in 1883 the acreage exceeded 2880 of which 661 acres was outside Huntley parish. The figures suggest that Edmund Probyn

had continued to purchase pieces of land in the parish during his control of the estate; certainly considerable sums of money had been spent on property improvement since a residence was established in the parish.

It is interesting to follow the changes which took place during the period of Probyn ownership as they affected Woodend Farm which was the largest farm in the parish. In 1711 the Duke of Kent leased Woodend Farm to John Cocks for a rent of £4.8s.6d. per annum plus 2 fat capons or 15s. in lieu at Whitsuntide. The lease was for the three lives of John Cox, Charles Cox and Thomas Savage. The acreage, including properties, was listed in the 1717 survey as nearly 142 acres and this included Huntley Mill which was let as part of the farm.

The farm was purchased by Sir Edmund Probyn in December 1726. In 1732, Woodend House, stables, out-houses and land was leased to Sarah Pullen. A new lease was made in 1735 to James Drinkwater which mentions only the stables and orchards. Widow Pullen seems to have continued at the farm and possibly the property was split for this period.

The Land Tax returns of 1777 to 1783 show £2.17s.9½d. due for Woodend. James Drinkwater also held the Red Lion lands and in 1787 his total Land Tax payment was £12.16s.6d. which suggests a large land-holding. James Drinkwater died on 31st May 1793 and by 1795 Edward Drinkwater had taken his place.

In 1780 James Drinkwater paid £140.0s.0d. in rent which had increased to £154.13s.0d. by 1799. Deeds in 1794 show Edward Drinkwater's holding to be 199 acres. Woodend Farm was one of the properties for which Land Tax redemption was purchased in 1799 by Edmund Probyn.

The documentation shows Woodend Farm as 211 acres with 25 acres of wood. During the 18th century the farm had been increased in size by the absorption of two smallholdings. The farm's fields had not been as scattered as those of others in the parish and the greater part of the land lay to the south and south east of the farmhouse with the mill at the southern end on the parish boundary. A stream runs through the farm from Huntley Hill to the mill. The turnpike road ran through the farm and the turnpike house remains at the farm entrance although the modern road runs to the north.

Soon after 1800 Joseph Drinkwater became tenant and Woodend was managed from the Red Lion Inn. There were 110 acres of arable land and 123 acres of grass producing a tithe charge of £35.6s.0d. and £5.6s.3d. poor rate annually.



The 1841 tithe list shows Joseph Drinkwater holding 251 acres including a house, farm buildings, a rick yard, cattle shed and yard. By this time the toll road was no longer used but provided the farm with a private drive.

The Red Lion with some 56 acres of land was being run as a separate concern by James Drinkwater. The land of Woodend Farm had been amalgamated and then consisted of adjacent fields which covered the area from the church to the southern parish boundary and mill site. (The mill had ceased to be mentioned by 1841). The 1841 census returns show Woodend Farm's residents as Joseph and Elizabeth Drinkwater. Joseph had 3 resident agricultural labourers and one female servant.

Ten years later the census records that Woodend Farm acreage was 265 acres and Joseph employed 10 labourers, four of whom seem to have been resident. The 1861 census show the farmer at Woodend to be David Rogers. In addition to his wife and daughter, a house servant, dairy maid, nurse and carter are also listed. David Rogers and his wife were born in Scotland.

The tenant had changed again by 1879 when Kelly's Directory lists James Ware. By 1883 the Farm was let to Francis Thorniloe at a 'reduced rent of £350 per annum'. The Farm extended over 270 acres. The sale particulars call Woodend a 'Model Farm Homestead' and state that it had been recently rebuilt.

The farmhouse had a W.C. and the farm buildings included a fattening shed for 40 beasts and cowshed for 20 beasts in addition to many specialist barns and storehouses. During the period under study the farm had almost doubled in size while the rent had increased from £5.3s.6d. to £350.0s.0d.

Although for the larger part of their ownership the Probyn family were absentee landlords, they seem to have kept sufficient contact with the Huntley estates to keep abreast of changes. They spent considerable sums of money to improve the estate, and even to the extent of selling shares to redeem the Land Tax. The inclosure award, which was funded by a land purchase by Edmund Probyn allowed for a continuation of the process of redistribution of land between farms. A number of small units of land were absorbed into the larger farms and Yew Tree Farm and Home Farm were formed. Attention was paid to the upkeep of the woodlands with a view to the sale of timber and some 128 acres of woodland existed by 1883. This consisted of oak, ash, elm and fir trees and was estimated at an annual value of approximately £100. The period of 160 years during which the Probyn family owned and developed the Huntley Manor estate included many changes and the pattern of the farms and woodland altered considerably. It is

perhaps a tribute to their planning that this pattern remains intact

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INVENTORIES - 1732

by P. BURT

A study of the inventories of wills for the year from the Gloucester diocesan archives has been rewarding both from the point of view of contents and description of dwellings.

These inventories belong to the less well-off of the population, as those of the gentry and richer tradesmen were sent to London for probate. They range in value from £1,210, left by Charles Bicknell of Yanworth (87) who "died worth in money £930 and in estate worth £280", to that of Philip Wintle (84) a joiner, whose total assets amounted to £1.13s. of which £1.3s. were debts owed by five men.

The manner of execution of the inventories varies considerably. When the contents are given in detail, room by room as happens in the richer households, this is helpful in obtaining a picture of the dwelling. The inventory of John Smith (125) is a good example. He left £811 and the contents of Hall, Parlour, Pantry, Dairy, Over Kitchen, Hall Chamber are listed, together with land worth £480.

Mary Butt (179) had a house in Gloucester comprising Parlour, Kitchen, Brewhouse, Cellar, Pantry, Chamber over Cloister Passage, Chamber over Meeting House Stairs, Chamber over Kitchen, Chamber over Parlour, Dark Chamber and Garret. She also had a house at Arlingham with Hall, Parlour, Pantry, Kitchen, Cellar, New Chamber, Old Parlour, Day House, Old Kitchen Chamber, Cock Loft, Corn Loft, Malt House, Mill House, which contained such refined objects as a large flint decanter, drinking glasses, coffee dishes, tea pot, earthen decanter, chocolate cups. An iron bath in the kitchen is the only one to be mentioned in any inventory.

The bedrooms in John Browning's (128) house at Dursley are described by colour and give a picture of a substantial house commensurate with the £633 he left and his status of Esquire. It consisted of Parlour, Hall, Kitchen, Pantry, Brewing House and Cellar, Parlour Chamber, Blue Chamber, Brown Chamber, Green Chamber, Nursery, Roof, Servants. "Without Doors" is also given in great detail as to cattle, grain, etc. and was valued at £499.

Naturally enough in the poorer houses no detailed description of rooms is given and contents are usually to be found in the kitchen. Sometimes the contents are given in detail, but very often they are lumped together as "all sorts of lumber", or "some old household stuffe", or "goods most rotten".

The following is an inventory of a poor dwelling which gives a good picture of the contents and way of life.

Joseph Mills of Little Sodbury (72)

<u>In the Kitchen</u> - two iron doggs & tongs table board & pot & kettle & other lumber goods .....	10s.
<u>In the Lower House</u> - one bed chest & other lumber goods .....	15s.
<u>In the Outhouse</u> - one tub & two barrels, two pails & other lumber goods .....	4s.
All wearing clothes .....	10s.
All working tools .....	2s. 6d.
All wool, worsted & yarn .....	8s.
At the quarry in the bottom of Hare Lane Wood 16 load of "ruff" stone & 2 loads of paving stone	16s.
	£3 5s. 6d.

Wearing Apparel is nearly always one of the first items to be listed, sometimes together with "money in Purse". For the poor 10s. is an average amount. On the whole the value of the wearing apparel is an indication of the wealth of the deceased. Below are some figures to illustrate:-

		<u>MEN</u>					
<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Amount Left</u>			<u>Wearing Apparel</u>		
		£	s	d	£	s	d
(898) Charles Ireland	Clothworker	8	2	6	1	10	0
(124) Robert Smyth	Carrier	19	14	6	1	0	0
(31) Thomas Hall	Boatman	27	0	0	1	10	incl. Money
(122) William Smyth	Reverend	56	0	0	5	0	0
(103) John Wilkins	Wheelwright	176	0	0	38	0	0
(100) John Collings	Carpenter	234	0	0	10	0	0
(105) Richard Perron	Yeoman	321	0	0	10	0	incl. Money
(37) Hercules Hide	Gent. Miller	439	0	0	25	0	0
(28) John Browning	Esquire	683	0	0	100	0	0
(108) Thomas Starte	Yeoman	733	0	0	25	0	0

		<u>WOMEN</u>					
		£	s	d	£	s	d
(32) Widow Roberts	Widow	2	0	0	10	0	
(102) Anne Thorne	"	58	0	0	9	10	incl. Money
(104) Mary Francis	"	80	0	0	25	0	0
(120) Anna Thurston	Shopkeeper	269	0	0	15	0	0
(151) Mary Butt	Widow	371	0	0	20	0	0

## FURNITURE

One fact which emerges clearly is the low value put upon furniture as compared with cattle and grain, both growing and stored, and food stuff like cheese.

For instance, 6 joint stools, 4 chairs and 2 tables are valued at 15s. The same value is given for an oak table and drawers, obviously of better quality. Again, 2 joint stools and a dozen chairs are valued at 5s. and the same for a round table and two flag-bottomed chairs in a parlour. A settle is valued at 3s. and two chests at 12s. Even Mary Butt's eight leather chairs in her parlour are only valued at 12s., and the furniture in a yeoman's "little chamber by the dining room", consisting of 1 looking glass, 1 chest, 1 desk, 3 chairs, 1 box, 2 boxes with drawers under, only come to 15s. (16)

Beds of course feature in every inventory. Those in the better-off households are of feather with curtains and valances and average £5. One in the best chamber is put as high as £10 10s. A flock bed averages 10s. and a truckle bed comes as low as 2s. and 1s.

Pewter was used in every home for eating and household utensils. They included dishes, tankards, bottles, potagers, chamber pots, candlesticks. Their value varied and it is difficult to work out as very often they are lumped together and with other items. John Smith's (125) pewter was valued by weight - 120 lbs at 3s., but in most of the households the value ranged from £3 to a few shillings.

Brass is also used but not to the same extent. Again John Smith's is valued by weight - 1 cwt brass at 5s.

Silver is listed only twice. One silver bowl (147) in a yeoman's house valued at £2., and a second Mary Butt, a (151) spinster of Gloucester, had a large silver buckle and a pair of small ones, value 6s. She also had a diamond ring, value £1 10s.

Gold is listed once - 3 gold rings value £1 (17).

Books are listed three times. Once in a clergyman's house (122) value £10; once in a yeoman's house (125), "books of all sorts", value £5; and once in a well off spinster's house (151) value £1 1s.

Looking glasses feature a number of times in the better-off households and are valued at 1s. to 1s. 3d., Mary Butt (151) had four - a large looking glass 10s., a small 1s. 3d., a little 6d., and a swing glass 4s.

Guns are seldom mentioned and then usually with other items. For instance, an old gun, and two spitts 8s. 6d., and again with a looking glass, a glass cage, 3 guns, tables joint stools, spitts - all sorts of lumber, in John Smith's hall - total £5. Two shooting guns are listed alone, value 6s. (147)

Linen is listed in most of the better-off houses, sometimes itemised, sometimes not. For instance 1 pair sheets, 1 doz. napkins with all other linen 12s. Linen £3. A pr. of flaxen sheets 12s. Mary Butt (151) had 1 large flaxen cloth 4s. 6d., 1 doz small napkins 6s., 1 holland sheet 10s., and 1 set of worked curtains £5.

### CATTLE

The following is a cross section of cattle and grain prices:-

<u>Sheep</u>	£.	s.	
20 Ewes & Lambs & 15 Sheep	7	0	(8)
16 " 16 " & 15 "	8	9	(14)
48 Sheep	14	8	(36)
60 "	15	0	(125)

### Cows

6 Milch Cows & 2 Calves	25	0	(8)
1 Heifer & Calve & 2 Heifers to calve	8	10	(8)
4 yearling Heifers	5	0	(9)
4 Heifers	9	0	(9)
20 Cows	65	0	(17)
9 Kine, 1 Bull, 2 Heifers, 2 Calves	80	0	(143)
1 year old Heifer	15		(96)

### Horses

2 yearling Colts	2	0	(8)
4 working Horses	20	0	(8)
1 black Horse	1	0	(11)
4 Mares, 1 Colt	16	0	(36)
2 Horses, 5 Mares, 1 Colt	16	0	(125)

### Pigs

1 Sow & 6 Sucking pigs	4	16	(9)
2 Sows		5	(11)
1 Sow		10	(30)
2 Sows	1	12	(36)
26 Pigs	29	0	(125)
41 Hogs	22	0	(125)

<u>Grain</u>		£.	s.	
	Wheat in Barn, Rick Hay & wheat in dwelling house	23	18	(14)
7	Acres of wheat )			
10	" " pulse )	43	14	(14)
5	" " barley)			
6	Ricks Hay	50	0	(125)
9	Acres of wheat & beans	69	0	(125)
12	Wey of oats	54	0	(155)
	Hay	1	0	(79)
70	Wind Cocks of St. Fayn Hay	48	0	(90)
31	Acres of Corn	30	0	(90)
	Corn & unthreshed Hay	200	0	(156)
	" threshed & Malt	50	0	(156)

An interesting item is schooling discharged for a Margaret Wingwood. This came to £1. 0s. 6d. per year, and £20 for boarding for 2½ years. Her clothes came to £1 for a year and £1. 10s. for 2 years.

Funeral Expenses Coffins are mentioned twice and each time cost 10s. A shroud is 9s., Reading Prayers 5s., and digging a grave 10s.

TOOLS Unfortunately the calling of the person is not always put on the inventory, but here are a few with the value of the tools used.

		£.	s.	d.	
Wheelwright	Timber & Tools	35	0	0	(103)
	Brass in general	5	0	0	
Boatman	Boat & Tackle	25	10	0	(1)
Baker	Mill & furniture,	4	12	0	
	iron & boards,				
	iron pot & other				
	implements				
	60 Bushels of	11	11	0	
	wheat & meal				
Carpenter	30 Bushels of	1	0	0	
	bran				
	A mortar &	3	13	3½	
	pestle				
Carpenter	20 bags		13	4	
	Tools	2	0	0	(100)
	Timber	25	0	0	
Fishmonger	Scales & Weights	5	0	0	(116)
Cordwainer	Working Tools				(93)

		£.	s.	d.	
Yeoman	1 Boat with appurtances & fishing net	5	0	0	(147)
Brewer	12 Wey of Malt	84	0	0	(67)
	2 Malt Mills	3	0	0	
	2 Cowles, vats & other brewing vessels	5	0	0	

The following is of special interest because it gives a detailed description of the contents of a shop belonging to Anna Thurston (120).

<u>In the Little Shop</u>	£.	s.	d.
All the earthen ware at		10	

In the Shop

35 pieces of woollen stuffs	40	0	0
42 yards check cotton & lining	2	4	0
23 whole pieces & part pieces of Holland	8	0	0
25 pieces of Dowla	30	0	0
16 pieces of coarse cloth	10	0	0
2 pieces of white stuffing	1	10	0
Stamp Calicoes & Linen	1	10	0
2 pieces of Muslin	16	0	0
Silk Handkerchiefs	5	0	0
Lace	10	0	0
Ribbons, tape, thread & other small things	15	0	0
1 pair brass scales & weights		10	0
Brushes & whisks		10	0
Rings & other plate		12	0
Debts good & bad on books	20	0	0
Part of Mortgage money at Rogett & Magro	20	0	0



THE POOR IN TETBURY

by DAVID GREENHALGH

In Tetbury, as in many other parishes, a large part of the parish records are concerned with the relief of the poor. The Gloucestershire Record Office contains a large number of surviving documents for this parish and this note is a brief account of some of those relating to the period before 1834.

Overseers' of the Poor Accounts

The earliest accounts are contained in two volumes (1) running from 1741 to 1748 and 1749 to 1758. These two volumes give a comprehensive picture of all expenditure including out-poor, workhouse, medical expenses, services and so on. There is a summary of expenditure at the end of each year (or, after 1752, at about Easter). Table 1 gives a summary of these to the nearest whole pound together with the rate. In the table, and those following, 1755 for example means Easter 1755 to Easter 1756.

TABLE 1. RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE 1742 - 1758

	Disbursed	Received	Rate	
	£	£	s.	d.
1742	405	421	3	8
1743	379	385	3	3
1744	410	429	3	8
1745	381	389	3	3
1746	579	583	5	0
1747	261	285	2	6
1748	304	327	2	9
1749	351	375	3	2
1750	375	385	3	6
1751	387	423	3	9
1752	404	420	3	6
1753	389	402	3	6
1754	439	454	4	0
1755	454	488	4	3
1756	404	422	3	6
1757	582	579	5	2
1758	550	563	5	2

The number given relief during this period varied but about 80 paupers received weekly pay and there were usually about 16 in the workhouse although at times twice as many. There would also be those who received occasional relief. The seasonal variations in each year are greater than the changes from year to year.

Typical items from these accounts are:

To Thos. Morton to shave his beard	2d.
½ an ell of cloth for Hester Smith	6d.
pd Fools wench	7s. 0d.
rope for workhouse well	10s. 0d.
bread and faggots for people in ye small pox	19s. 10½ d.
pd John Mitchell for setting ye marks on ye poor ye whole year	5s. 0d.
pd Richard Morris to buy stuff to cure ye people of ye workhouse of the itch	1s. 0d.

Following these two volumes there is a gap in the account books to 1801 but a document from the Estcourt muniments (2) gives the following figures for 1792/3. The figures cover 11 months only but give a partial breakdown of expenditure.

TABLE 2. BREAKDOWN OF EXPENDITURE 1792/3 (11 MONTHS)

	£.	s.	d.
out-poor	110	14	0½
bread	125	4	0½
cheese	29	7	1
meat	57	1	1
malt and hops	26	5	5
firing	15	16	6
furniture	7	18	3
clothing	24	2	5
small necessaries	58	15	0
vegetables	4	15	5
baking	11	5	8
house rent	5	14	8
county rate	33	15	6
bedding	8	12	8
militia relief	9	12	0

Totals for the 11 months are given as:

expenditure	£528	19s. 5½d.	(£576)
poors' work	£160	3s. 11d.	(£175)
neat (net) loss	£368	15s. 6d.	(£401)*

(\*The figures in brackets give the extrapolated 12 month equivalents)

When the parish records resume in 1801 the level of expenditure does not appear to be greatly changed but it is not possible to make a true comparison as the later accounts available do not record all the various types of expenditure but are largely a record of regular payments. Presumably a separate record was kept of other items. Accounts are available from 1803 to 1811 but these do not have any summaries and merely

record week by week the regular payments. It is not possible to calculate the yearly sums without the considerable labour of adding many thousands of small payments. For this reason these years are omitted from Table 3.

TABLE 3. EXPENDITURE 1801 - 1822

Taken from (3) with the exception of the figure for 1803 which is from Poor Law Abstracts 1803 and is for out-poor, in-poor, and suits of law and removals. Figures to nearest whole pound.

1801	£789
1802	£542
1803	£886
1812	£2,250
1813	£2,299
1814	£1,516
1815	£1,539
1816	£1,749
1817	£2,166
1818	£2,165
1819	£1,892
1820	£1,823
1821	£1,917
1822	£1,651

TABLE 4. NUMBERS RECEIVING RELIEF

The figures are from the accounts except that for 1803 which is from Poor Law Abstracts 1803. Occasional relief is not included. The figures from the accounts are arrived at by counting a few weeks each year and taking an average. A longer study would be able to take better account of seasonal variations.

	weekly	bastards	militia	work-house	TOTAL
1742	82			32	114
1748	52			16	68
1758	93			16	109
1759	82			12	94
1801	160	5	2		
1802	117	10	7		
1803	141			54	195
1813	85	9	1		
1814	78	9	2	55	144
1815	71	7		53	131
1816	76	7		53	136
1817	81	11		51	143
1818	121	15		57	193
1819	97	13		63	173
1820	71	10			
1821	67	13			
1822				50	
1823	67	14		53	134
1824	68	12		45	125

The figures in Tables 3 and 4 show a considerable leap in expenditure some time between 1803 and 1812. The reasons for this increase are less clear. The numbers receiving out-door relief show no convincing long-term trend. The number in the workhouse have increased. There could also have been an increase in the number of casual payments. Changes in money values could also be involved. A thorough analysis of the accounts would perhaps make the situation clearer. According to Poor Law Abstracts 1803 the number of non-parishioners receiving relief in 1803 was 950 which can be compared with the total for the county of 5840 of which it comprises over 16%. The figure is much higher than any other Gloucestershire parish. The only parish which approached this was Morton-in-Marsh with 631. Chipping Sodbury had 424, Dursley 370, and Stroud 188. It looks as if Tetbury exerted a strong attraction at this time although many of those relieved may have been only passing through. Its total population (in 1801) is given as 2500.

Costs do not seem to have changed much between 1814 and 1824. In 1814 the workhouse master was allowed 2s. 6d. per head per week, this rose to 3s. in 1818 and fell to 2s. 4d. in 1824 (4).

There is little reference as to how the level of relief was calculated but a book of Vestry Minutes (6) dated from 1819 to 1825 has a scale of payments at the back which was probably in force for part or all of the period. This gives:

A man, wife, and 1 child to receive	6s. p.w.
A man, wife and 2 children to receive	7s. p.w.
A man, wife and 8 children to receive	13s. p.w.

An earlier (undated but probably around 1800) document from the Estcourt muniments contains a reference to the "new plan" (Speenhamland) and gives the following comparisons (2).

Income of a man who has a wife and 5 children under ten by the 'new plan' without parish relief.

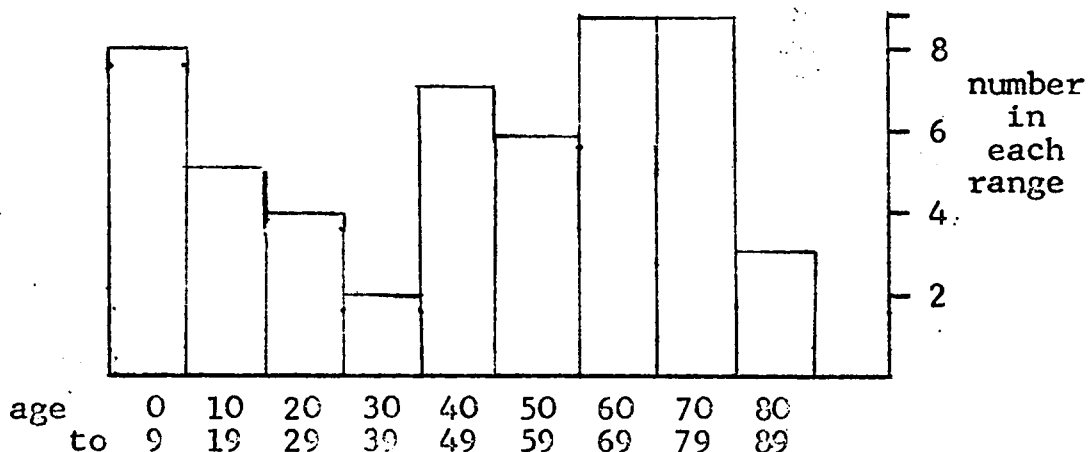
wages 52 weeks	£38	7s.	0d.
carriage $\frac{1}{2}$ load coals		10s.	0d.
victuals on Sunday at 2s. per week	£5	4s.	0d.
beer at 2s. per week	£5	4s.	0d.
wife's earning at 3s.	£7	18s.	0d.
eldest daughter at 1s.	£2	12s.	0d.
produce of rood land	£5	0s.	0d.
TOTAL	£64	15s.	0d.

Income of same man who has parish relief regulated by the price of bread in which he should have an income equal to the purchase of 14 lb. of bread for the man, 10½ lb. for the wife, and 7 lb. for each child weekly.

WEEKLY	14 lb. for man at 15d.	4s.	4d.
	10½ lb. for the mother	3s.	5d.
	35 lb. for the children	10s.	11½d.
	for other necessaries	2s.	0d.
		<hr/>	
		£1	0s. 8½d.

(In 52 weeks this comes to £53 15s. 9d.)

One of the account books lists the 75 inmates of the workhouse in 1816 (7). Of these some have been deleted or have 'out' or 'died' against their names so not all would be present at any one time. The ages are given and these are tabulated below and show, as one might expect, that the dominant inmates were the elderly and the young.



Some idea of the diet of the inmates can be gathered from a document in the Estcourt muniments (2) dated 1799. The document is a large sheet giving the food provided for a week and seems to have been sent from the workhouse master to some higher authority. The information in it was used as the basis for a public notice which was published shortly afterwards by the magistrates T. Saunders and John Paul Paul in order to prevent "...false Reports maliciously circulated setting forth that the Poor in the Work-House are starving". The number of paupers was 94 but about 35 of these were young children.

## WORKHOUSE DIET 1799

### MONDAY

Dinner bread 24½ lb, cheese 7 lb, beer 3 gall.  
(8s. 2d.)

Supper as above

### TUESDAY

Breakfast as above

Dinner broken bones and meat left from sunday  
dinner, potatoes, bread 12 lb (2s. 6½d.)

Supper milk 3 gall, oatmeal 15 pt, water 3 gall.  
(4s. 7d.)

### WEDNESDAY

Breakfast milk 4 gall, water 3 gall, rice, treakle

Dinner meat 22 lb, potatoes 38 lb, oatmeal left  
from Tuesday supper (6s. 2d.)

The week continues with a little variety. Breakfast on Friday and Sunday is described as a 'capital good breakfast' but it is not clear whether this was an unsolicited accolade from the recipients although it was clearly meant to give this impression. This was for: milk 4 gallons, rice 10 lb, treakle 1 lb (5s. 4d.). Six paupers who did hard labour in the manufactory were given an extra meal of bread, cheese and beer at 4 o'clock. The total expenditure on a week's food is given as £7 1s. 4d.

At one time dogs seem to have become a problem. An entry in the Vestry Minutes (6) provides that "all persons.....keeping dogs shall be made subject to pay rates and also not be allowed any relief from the Parish untill such dogs are put away." At least one instance is on record of this last sanction being put into effect.

The workhouse, like all institutions, seems to have been a place of petty intrigue. In 1827 a pauper was caught stealing as can be seen from her examination (8):

'May 16th 1827: The examination of Mary Lamb respecting the things produced at the town hall that was lost from the Poor House Tetbury. Mary Lamb says that on Sunday afternoon May 15th 1827 she told Hannah Thompson what she proposed doing and she advised her to so to do and also stood at the Chamber Door to acquaint her if she heard of any person coming and as soon as Mary Lamb had brought the things to the Chamber Door Hannah Thompson received them and we both consulted what had better be done with them she said

to me why take them up Stair and put them under your bed which I did so then I spoke to Sarah Barrett a pauper in the Poor House and I asked her to endeavour to see James Height on the Sunday after Divine Service and tell him I shall be glad to see him on the Morrow morning which he come about a half past two O'Clock and I brought the things down stairs and tied it up in a bundle and handed over the back wall near the Pigsty to James Height he never knew what the bundle contained at that present time he wish'd me well and was a going away then I said Mr. Height I wish to speak to you he asked me what it was I told him I had heard that his wife was very uncomfortable and that he did not use her as well as he ought to do the answer made me was that he did not I asked him what reason he told me he never should untill I had liberty to go out on the Sabbath Day for I know that it was my wife's fault your being taken into the workhouse.'

The Sarah Barrett mentioned in that examination may well have been the same Sarah Barrett who in 1840 was sent to another institution. (8).

To the Overseers of the Poor of the Parish of Tetbury in the County of Gloucester.

We the undersigned being two of her Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the said County do hereby order you to pay Daniel Webb Smith the sum of one pound and ten shillings being the reasonable charge of conveying Sarah Barrett and William Withers two poor persons proved to be insane from Tetbury to the County Lunatic Asylum at Gloucester.

Given under our hands this second day of September 1840.

Attitudes to Authority were the same then as now: from the same bundle (8) we have:-

"The Information of Daniel Cole one of the Overseers of the Poor.....taken on oath before us.....May 1834.

Who saith that Isaac Cleaver of Tetbury aforesaid labourer did on Monday the nineteenth day of May instant in the Parish of Tetbury aforesaid swear one profane oath in these words to wit 'I don't care a God damn for you nor the constable neither' against the form of the statute in such case made and provided.

Taken and sworn.....".

It was mentioned earlier that Tetbury had a large number of poor from other parishes. This is further evidenced by a fairly large number of settlement examinations, settlement certificates, and removal orders.

There are 129 certificates dated between 1669 and 1833. No particular pattern emerges other than the broad observation that most of them are from the counties of Gloucester and Wiltshire and many from neighbouring parishes. In only a small minority of cases is an occupation given. These are:

Labourer	5
cordwainer	4
tailor	3
woolcomber	3
carpenter	2
shoemaker	2
joiner	1
feltmaker	1
rope-maker	1
chandler	1
writing master	1
mason	1
slatter	1
butcher	1

A typical example is that of Thomas Bishopp from Devizes: (9)

'Burgo Devizes                    We shose names are hereunto  
in Com Wilts                    subscribed the Mayor and  
   Recorder of the said Burrough  
together with the Minister, Churchwardens and  
Overseers of the Poore of the Parish of the  
Blessed Virgin Mary within the said Burrough do  
hereby certify that the bearer hereof Thomas  
Bishopp and Mary his wife are inhabitants of the  
said Parish of the Blessed Virgin Mary and hath  
desired this our cirtificate to Certify the same.  
We therefore desire you the Inhabitants of the  
Towne of Tetbury in the County of Glocester to  
permitt and suffer the said Thomas Bishopp and  
Mary his wife and their ffive children to live  
within you said Towne of Tetbury. And we do  
hereby for us and our successors promise at any  
time hereafter when we are thereunto required to  
receive the said Thomas Bishopp and Mary his  
wife and their children as inhabitants within  
our said parish. Given under our hands and  
seals the one and twenty day of June in the  
ffifth yeare of the Raigne of our Sovraigne  
Lord and Lady King William and Queen Mary of  
England 1693.'



The examinations are more numerous and many of the examiners are single women with a young child or pregnant. A typical case is that of Elizabeth Barrett in 1812 (10)

'...Who saith she has heard and believes she was born in the Parish of Tetbury about 19 years ago And that her parents settlement is at Didmarton in the said County that about a month before Michaelmas 1811 she was hired by Mr. (.....?) Surgeon at Didmarton in the Parish of Oldbury-on-the-Hill in the said County for a year at wages of Five Guineas that she accordingly entered upon and duly performed the same service for a year in the Parish of Oldbury-on-the-Hill aforesaid. And hath not done any act since to gain a settlement. And that she is now with child.'

(She was ordered to be removed to Oldbury)

It was generally in the interests of the parish to establish paternity so that the father could be made to marry the woman or indemnify the parish. So we get:

"17th January 1816 Ann Davies of Tetbury singlewoman Who saith on the twelfth day of December 1815 at Tetbury ..... she was delivered of a female Bastard Child and that the said Bastard Child is likely to become chargeable to the said parish of Tetbury and that James Box of Shipton Moyne in the said County Labourer did get her with Child of the said Bastard Child sworn before T. Estcourt'

This note has only covered a small part of the total material available. Much of the material is almost identical with that from many other parishes. Nevertheless a closer study of this material and the rest should add to the overall national picture and show up better the points of variance. More accurate information could be obtained on the relative financial and administrative burdens by the 'resident' poor and the 'visiting' poor.

#### SOURCES

- |     |                                |                            |
|-----|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1.  | Glos.R.O., P328a OV2/1 & 2/2   | accounts                   |
| 2.  | Glos.R.O., D1571/R20           | from Estcourt<br>muniments |
| 3.  | Glos.R.O., P328a CV 2/3 & 2/4  | accounts                   |
| 4.  | Glos.R.O., P328a CV 2/5        | accounts                   |
| 5.  | <u>Poor Law Abstracts 1803</u> |                            |
| 6.  | Glos.R.O., P328a VE 2/1        | vestry minutes             |
| 7.  | Glos.R.O., P328a OV 2/6        | accounts                   |
| 8.  | Glos.R.O., P328a CV 7/30       | miscellaneous<br>documents |
| 9.  | Glos.R.O., P328a OV 3/1/2      | settlement<br>certificate  |
| 10. | Glos.R.O., P328a OV 3/4/2      | " " " " " "                |

## YOUNG GENTLEMEN'S EDUCATION

by M.M. GUNSTON

I decided to investigate the way in which children of the landed gentry in the mid-18th century were brought up and educated. A suitable local family were the Blathwayt children from Dyrham Park. Dyrham Park is one of the larger estates, now in the County of Avon, previously Gloucestershire, a few miles north of Bath. The present house was built by William Blathwayt, Secretary of State to William III. He married Mary Wynter in 1686, heiress to the original Tudor house, which later he rebuilt as we see it today. Dyrham Park remained the property of the Blathwayt family until 1956 when the house, furniture and gardens were acquired by the nation and transferred to the National Trust.

Many records of household accounts remain, including bills for the education of the three grandsons and granddaughter of William Blathwayt, namely William, James, George and Penelope. From these accounts we can get a fair picture of their education although, of course, there are many breaks in continuity of facts.

The first grandson, William was born in 1751. We know that at the age of 14 he was being educated by a Reverend Mr Grand in London. Boarding and tuition for one year was £22 plus such items as £1 17s 6d for the dancing master, £1 10s 0d for the writing master, stage coach to London £1 7s 0d, mending shoes 6 times 3s 6d, cutting hair 5 times 2s 6d, a chest of drawers 8s, 2 pairs of new shoes 9s 6d, paid for bathing 15s, a Christmas box to sexton of chapel 1s. He later went to St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, where included in a bill for one quarter for over £82 were amounts for battels (college accounts for board and provisions supplied from kitchen and buttery) for over £16, dinners and suppers £6 3s 8d, wine £6 18s 6½d, borrowed from the principal at different times £22 1s 0d, mercer's bill £8 6s 2d, hosier's £3 0s 0d, bedmakers £1 4s 3d, tutor for 2 terms, however, £10 10s 0d.

At the age of 23 he left Oxford and a letter sent to his father asked for a contribution of William's caution money towards the expense of £200 being spent to take down and rebuild one side of the Quadrangle and repair the whole Hall of the college. He procured a degree and later on the death of his father took over the running of the estate.

James, the second son, was born in 1754. He was educated in London by the same clergyman as his elder brother. An account for books includes such items as an English Grammar 2s, French Grammar 2s 6d,

Dilworth's Arithmetic 2s, and a Bible and Prayer, neatly bound 10s 6d.

At the age of 17 he was an ensign in the Coldstream Guards, later promoted to lieutenant and at the age of 22 served in America during the War of Independence. After this only hair-dressing bills appear for Captain Blathwayt, e.g. £1 1s 6d for one bill.

Penelope, the only surviving daughter, was born in 1755, her mother dying the same year. She was educated at home in writing and arithmetic at 1 guinea for 3 lessons and also had dancing lessons at a cost of £2 2s 0d for the half year. This is the only reference in the records to her education.

George was born in 1759, son of his father's second wife. He, like his elder brother, was educated by a clergyman probably in London, but at the age of 14 was at Winchester. Breakings-up were evidently always, we learn, for five weeks and three days. Four years later at the age of 19 he was at Merton College, Oxford where he received a bachelor's degree. We have an account for £8 8s 0d to defray the expenses of his degree. He later became rector of Dyrham.

There was evidently strong family opposition to Penelope's marriage to a Mr Crane. She was in her thirties and they went to Scotland to get married. Her maternal uncle writes "it is out of our power to prevent it and we have nothing to do, but to make the best of this unforeseen event". It is evident that there was distinct distrust of Crane as the letter says "I am apprehensive, however, that he is worth nothing, and that this was his last effort to gain subsistence". There was a suggestion that the Reverend Blathwayt make enquiries into Crane's affairs when he went to London. When her uncle died Penelope was left a legacy of £5,000 but later she must have been in dire circumstance as she wrote to her brother, William, owner of Dyrham, for help but was refused. He writes that he expended the annual income of his estate and always intended doing it. She received a little financial help from a cousin who wrote to say he is sorry that Mr Crane's affairs are so bad a situation and that none of Pen's relations will do anything to assist her.

Penelope had one son, William, born in 1794 and when he was three Penelope's brother, William, owner of Dyrham, wrote to his sister stating that "his nephew will be of an age in the Spring proper for inoculation". He suggested that she took him to him at Bath and that Penelope stayed with her son "till his recovery". He then suggested that she left young William with him "I shall begin to think of educating him and will take same care of that and everything concerning as if he was my own".

At the age of 6 William was sent away to school at Gosport and later at the age of 10 he went to Winchester. Printed accounts from Winchester give the master's and tradesmen's names alphabetically, e.g. Belin, French Master; Bishop, Hatter; Bower, Writing Master; Flight, Glover; Jacob, Scourer; Lee, Dancing Master; Robbins, Bookseller; Wickham, Surgeon; Wells, Taylor; White, Shoemaker; etc, etc. Letters from Winchester regarding his progress and conduct were sent to his uncle at Dyrham. At the age of 19 he was at Trinity College, Cambridge. William's uncle, owner of Dyrham died in 1806 and he became the owner of Dyrham. In 1819 at the age of 25 William took the name of Balthwayt.

GAOL CALENDARS OF GLOUCESTER GAOL 1796 - 1810

by M. POWELL

The Gaol Calendars are records of all the prisoners confined within the Gaol, broken down into four main sections. Details of prisoners up at the Quarter Sessions and those who will be committed to the Assizes. Prisoners tried, sentenced and serving their terms in the Gaol and local Bridewells; and those awaiting transportation. These are recorded with their names, age, offence and sentence.

The Quarter Sessions cases chiefly concerned theft of food and clothing, minor theft, assault and Poor Law Offences. In the period of time studied here two-thirds of the committals to court were for theft, but only just over half were convicted and sentenced. In the cases of assault, again, just over half were convicted and sentenced; one interesting case of assault was that of an 80 year old man, Thomas Bayley, who was accused of 'violently assaulting, abusing, beating and putting in bodily fear, Ann Jones' - indeed a remarkable old man. Many Poor Law offences were those of husbands being brought before the court for leaving their wives and families chargeable to the parish. Rogues and vagabonds were usually imprisoned for one day, unless they were 'incorrigible rogues and vagabonds' who could be imprisoned for longer. The cases which often conceal a much more involved story are the ones in which parish Overseers of the Poor brought an appeal before the court concerning those found illegally out of their legal place of settlement; they were often imprisoned for one month. Again, of the committals just over half were convicted and sentenced. Many of these convictions would be served out on the local Bridewells.

From the details given in the Calendars, it would appear difficult for a layman to discover on what criteria it was decided who would appear at the Quarter Sessions and who would appear at the Assizes. Murder and riot was obviously more serious, but in the cases of theft it is not always so apparent. For example, at the Epiphany Sessions on the 15th January, 1805 a man was transported for stealing eleven ducks.

Interesting facts of everyday life emerge even from these gaol records. There would appear to be as many women as men charged with assault. Employers were well protected by law from lazy or careless employees; a person in service was imprisoned for one to three months for staying out of the house two nights; one month for deserting a position; one month for neglecting a master's business. A three-month sentence was imposed upon one young man because he left his mistress's team (of horses) on the highway. On two

occasions the refusal to 'fulfil an engagement to weave a piece of cloth' incurred a sentence of one month and two months.

There was a case of the committal to trial of two Frenchmen charged with being aliens for they 'produced no passport as by law directed'. There was a general feeling of unease at this time because of events in France which led to the Revolution with the result that riot was treated quite seriously, and for this crime in 1801, one man was transported for fourteen years.

At Easter Sessions in 1810 six out of seven committals were for theft of hay, while again in May 1810 there were more committals on charges of stealing hay and wheat, so one is left to wonder whether perhaps either the harvest had been bad or the winter extra severe.

Many small but interesting stories appear - Jonah Hawkins was in Lawfords Gate for one month for threatening to leave his family. In 1798 Thomas Robinson was transported for life convicted of sacrilege; a Mary Robinson, who could have been a relative, was imprisoned for three years for contempt of the consistory Court, and again one wonders what exactly they had done. Two women were imprisoned for breaking down a workhouse door! In July, 1805 four young women were before the court for 'wandering abroad lodging in outhouses'. Hannah Lintern was given three months for neglecting poor children in her care, so it is obvious that the Overseers of the Poor kept a watchful eye on the children boarded out.

Young men were often whipped or pilloried at the end of their sentence, the pillorying taking place in Gloucester on market day between the hour of twelve noon and two o'clock. Poaching was punished by three months in the local Bridewell and the game stolen was usually rabbits or hares, but one reads occasionally of a deer being taken from one of the large estates in the area. On conviction for petty theft some young men were offered enlistment to His Majesty's Forces as an alternative to prison, but one wonders at the attractiveness or not of the idea when young men are also imprisoned for not reporting to the Militia for service, and for being absent without leave.

Given the Gaol Calendars to study one is naturally led to be interested in the Gaol in which the prisoners were confined. The work of Sir George Onesiphorus Paul features largely at the end of the 18th Century and into the 19th Century. He led the Gloucestershire magistrates in the building of a new County Gaol to replace the old goal which had been situated in the old castle. When Sir George first began to be interested in the condition of prisoners he found that their general treatment was very

indifferent. They intermingled together all the time whether or not they were convicted, whether they were men or women, ill or well. Gaol fever was rampant from time to time because of the bad conditions. The plans for the new gaol were carefully drawn and every detail studied. The building was to be divided into three main sections, one for the prisoners awaiting trial, one for felons under sentence of death and one for debtors. Provision was made for an infirmary and a chapel, and the men to be separated from the women. An interesting picture is given by a visitor to the gaol not long after it was opened, his name was the Rev. Samuel Vince, a much-travelled clergyman who came to Gloucester in 1796. He kept a meticulous record of all his journeys and he comments on the social aims of Sir George. The gaol was not only a new building, it was a new concept in the treatment of prisoners, where previously they appeared to be just confined in bad conditions for the term. stated, Sir George aimed to reform to some degree their characters. The Rev. Vince tells us that work was found for them to do, and before their trial one half of their wages was paid to them. Debtors were given the opportunity to work off their debts. However, difficult prisoners were put into solitary confinement on a diet of bread and water, but the Governor was not willing to admit that solitary confinement increases the risk of suicide. He summed up his impression of the Gaol thus, 'Wonderfully calculated for the punishment, penitence and reformation of Criminals who were secluded from society. By the habits of industry, sobriety and regularity which they learn in this confinement must be rendered good members of society. The security of the persons, the regularity of their meals, the method observed in their work, the circulation of air and conveyance of the water render the place most worthy of the observation of the traveller'.

You'll all have heard of Gloucester Gaol  
But it would you much surprise  
To see the prisoners in the yard  
When they're on exercise.  
The yard is built around with walls  
So noble and so strong  
Whoever goes there has to bide  
Their time, be it short or long.

(Paraphrase of 'Durham  
Gaol' by Thomas Armstrong)  
Thomas Armstrong)

#### Sources

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THE RISE AND FALL OF JOSEPH PITT

by RUSSELL HOWES

Joseph Pitt, who gave his name to Pittville Spa, one of the most attractive parts of Cheltenham, never lived in the town. His parents came from Brokenborough, near Malmesbury, but moved to Little Witcombe, in the parish of Badgeworth. Joseph was born in 1759, the youngest of five sons. On his memorial tablet in the church of Crudwell, near Malmesbury, where he was buried, Joseph Pitt displayed the arms of the Pitt family, to which the two prime ministers belonged, but there is no evidence of any relationship. The Pitts of Brokenborough appear to have been yeomen.

Pitt became an attorney or solicitor in Cirencester about 1780. The story of Pitt's rise from obscurity to fortune was briefly told by John Campbell, a barrister with whom Pitt did business, and who became lord chancellor in 1859. 'He used to hold gentlemen's horses for a penny; when, appearing a sharp lad, an attorney took a fancy to him, and bred him to his own business. Pitt soon scraped together a little money by his practice in the law, and by degrees entered into speculations as a brewer, a banker, a farmer and a land-jobber. Everything has thriven with him. He now has a clear landed estate of £20,000 a year, and returns four member to Parliament. He has besides two magnificent houses, one of the best libraries in the kingdom, and £10,000 worth of pictures.'

As a solicitor Pitt had the care of other people's money. For example, he was trustee for money settled on Mary Gale at her marriage. Her solicitor complained that he did not invest the money in the Funds. It was replied on his behalf that he paid her interest regularly, and that 'Mr. Pitt was until a recent period largely engaged as a Solicitor, and many large sums were left in his hands by his clients and others, which he lent out on Mortgage in his own name.' Pitt made some large loans on mortgage, for example £7,000 to William Hill, a coal merchant of Cirencester, and £14,000 to Samuel Harris, a landowner in Moreton Valence. Pitt received rents and profits from the estate of Martha Trotman of Chalford; when she died Thomas Weeks of Painswick claimed that she left her property to him; he was later convicted of forging her will, and went into hiding at Berwick on Tweed. It was alleged that, during the long period when the inheritance was in dispute, Pitt retained this money in his own hands. Pitt was perhaps a hard man when it came to asserting his own rights. When his son became rector of Rendcomb, he insisted that the daughters of the previous rector should pay for dilapidations to



the rectory; their solicitor said that his speciality was debt. In another case Pitt prepared to take proceedings for recovery of a debt against John Wood of Cricklade; but he reached an agreement with the debtor, and wrote, 'my wishes are to be in peace with all men'. When Pitt decided to retire from active work as a solicitor in 1812, he sold his practice to George Bevir at interest. It was a striking proof of his success. Subsequently Pitt sometimes engaged the professional services of Bevir, but he usually employed Joseph Randolph Mullings, also a solicitor in Cirencester.

The work of a solicitor introduced Pitt to the world of politics. A solicitor was needed by proprietors seeking an Inclosure Act. Pitt was solicitor to the proprietors at Minety, where he himself had property, and at Little Somerford. For both places George White was the member of parliament who looked after the Bill at Westminster. The same member was employed for the Inclosure Act which Pitt wanted for Cheltenham. In his own town of Cirencester Pitt was returning officer at elections for the borough. Earl Bathurst, as lord of the manor, appointed the bailiff of the borough and the steward of the manor, and these two were returning officers. Pitt served in both offices. At the election of 1812 he asked John Campbell to be his assessor. Another duty of steward of the manor, which Pitt fulfilled, was to serve as clerk to the court of requests, established for settling small claims in 1792.

Since Pitt was responsible for other people's money as a solicitor, it was not surprising that he should also enter the business of banking. The partnership of Pitt, Bowly, Croome and Brown was set up in Cirencester in 1790. Devereux Bowly and James Fielder Croome were both Cirencester men. The fourth member of the partnership was later replaced by Jacob Wood of Tetbury. The bank's premises were in a handsome wool-merchant's house at the corner of Castle Street and Silver Street in Cirencester. There was a branch at Faringdon. After the South Sea Bubble joint stock banks were forbidden, and no bank could have more than six partners. When Pitt and his associates wished to extend their business to Cheltenham, a separate partnership was established; it comprised the same four partners, together with a fifth, John Gardner. He was a resident of Cheltenham, and owned a brewery there. The bank house was in the High Street, and there was a branch at Burford. Yet a third partnership of Wood, Pitt, Bowly and Croome had a bank at Tetbury, with an agency at Dursley.

Joint stock banks were allowed by law after 1826, and in 1836 it was decided to convert the Cheltenham bank into a joint stock bank, known as the County of Gloucester Bank. The new establishment bought out the

old partnership for £18,000, and granted it the right to take 800 shares of £100 each. At that time the Cheltenham bank was making a yearly profit of £5,000; loans made by the bank amounted to £98,000, and notes were in circulation to the value of £47,000. As soon as plans for the new company were announced, the Gloucester County and City Bank asked to join. The new company then invited the partnerships at Cirencester and Tetbury to join. These two banks together had made loans of £166,000, and had notes in circulation for £74,000. They were bought out for £20,000, and 2,000 more shares were issued. Joseph Pitt bought 50 shares in the new bank. The County of Gloucester Bank was absorbed in 1897 by Lloyd's Bank, who still occupy the same premises in Cirencester.

The opening of the bank at Cheltenham was an indication of Pitt's interest in the fast-growing town, which offered opportunity for speculation to a wealthy man. In 1800 Pitt bought for £11,470 the inappropriate rectory, valuable chiefly for the tithes. The following year an Inclosure Act was secured. Pitt was appointed surveyor of roads for the inclosure, and it was complained that he had altered the route of one road in such a way as to make some land less desirable for building upon. Land was sold to cover the costs of inclosure, but the commissioner decided that the proceeds of the sale were more than sufficient, and refunded a large proportion of them to the proprietors, Pitt getting most. In fact the costs eventually came to much more than was produced by the sale of land. The inclosure award was made in 1806. It is clear that the intention of the inclosure was to free land for building. Pitt began by building the Royal Crescent, which was finished about 1810. Not until 1823 did he begin to develop Pittville; the land which it was to occupy being in the meantime let out under the name of Tithe Farm. Pitt's building operations in Cheltenham have been described in an earlier essay in this series. Besides owning the inappropriate rectory, Pitt acquired the right to nominate the curate. He had plans for building a new chapel, and in 1812 consulted the celebrated architect Robert Smirke. The chapel was not built; but some years later Pitt provided land for St. Paul's church, which was designed by John Forbes, the architect of Pittville pump room. Characteristically Pitt believed a church near his property would enhance its value; and he forbade a graveyard near the new church, because there was a prejudice against houses overlooking churchyards, which might prevent his selling land.

The house of Joseph Pitt in Cirencester was in Dollar Street, and still stands. It presumably served as both solicitor's office and family home. Pitt married three times. His first wife was Mary Robbins of Didmarton, a yeoman's daughter, who brought him a

dowry of £1,000. They were married at Fairford in 1786, but Mary died and was buried at Didmarton two years later. The only child of this marriage was Cornelius, who in 1831 became rector of Rendcomb, where his father had acquired the right of presentation in 1798. Cornelius died in 1840, before his father, and was buried at Chedworth. He was succeeded in 1844 as rector of Rendcomb by his son Joseph, who became well known as a fox-hunting parson.

The second marriage of Joseph Pitt was to Ann Daubeny, of a Bristol family. The Rev. James Daubeny, vicar of Stratton near Cirencester, was an associate of Pitt in buying property at Cheltenham. This second marriage did not last long, for Ann died and was buried at Stratton in 1792. There were no children from this marriage. Joseph Pitt married as his third wife Ann Orlidge, also of Bristol. They had five sons and two daughters. The eldest of their sons, Joseph, was born in 1796, and was sent to school at Eton. He followed his father's profession, and became a solicitor. Unlike his father he never married. He died in Lichfield in 1869. Another son, William, entered his father's bank, and became manager of the County of Gloucester Bank at Cheltenham. His brother Charles was vicar of Malmesbury from 1829 to his death in 1874. The fourth son, George, became a judge in India. Pitt's third wife died in 1819, and was buried at Crudwell.

Besides his property in Cheltenham Pitt invested in land in the countryside. In 1791 he bought for £21,000 an estate at Minety; and in 1807 he bought for £27,980 a larger estate at Eastcourt, whither he removed his home. In both places he set about inclosing the land. Details of his work have been given in a previous essay.

Joseph Pitt was now a country gentleman, and he crowned his ambition in 1812 by becoming a member of parliament. He made his way into the house of commons through the purchase of rotten boroughs. It was tersely announced in the Cheltenham Chronicle, 'Joseph Pitt esquire of Cirencester, who lately purchased the borough of Cricklade, has also within these last few days become the proprietor of the borough of Malmesbury'. Pitt himself was elected for Cricklade, and remained one of its members till 1831. He bought the manor of the borough and hundred of Cricklade from the Earl of Carnarvon; this enabled him to appoint the bailiff of the borough, who was returning officer. He already owned the manors of Great and Little Chelworth and the manor of Cricklade and Staple. Pitt's interest in the borough was clearly electoral, for the expense of holding manorial courts was more than the quitrents, which were under £8 a year. The electors were, in the first place, the freeholders, copyholders and leaseholders in the borough.

T.H.B. Oldfield, in his Representative History of 1816, alleged that the Earl of Carnarvon bought freeholds, copyholds and leaseholds, enabling him to create 200 fictitious votes.

At first Pitt did not own much property in the borough. According to the land tax assessments in 1812 he owned only two houses, but he increased the number by 1818 to 106, most of which had formerly belonged to the Earl of Carnarvon. These houses were mainly cottages, a number of them occupied by paupers, whose rent was paid by the overseers of the poor. A map and list of 1830 show that Pitt owned 79 out of 183 houses in the borough, and was landlord to 120 out of 225 tenants. However Cricklade was not wholly a rotten borough. In 1780 the place had been found guilty of serious corruption, and as a penalty the forty shilling freeholders of the neighbouring hundreds were added to the constituency, making the number of electors 1,200. This made it necessary for candidates to campaign actively for election. Letters from the time of the election in 1818 show that Pitt canvassed in person throughout his wide constituency. His agent wrote letters to electors, and visited them. Some of the electors lived in London, and Pitt paid their expenses in travelling to the poll. John Wood, mentioned earlier, hoped that his services as an elector at Cricklade would make Pitt less determined in recovering the debt he owed him.

Pitt stood for election as a Tory and a supporter of the government. The interests of the Whig opposition in the neighbourhood of Cricklade were upheld by a number of noble landowners, the Earl of Suffolk of Charlton Park, Lord Folkestone of Coleshill, and Lord Holland of Malmesbury. The eldest son of the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Andover, had contested Cricklade in 1807; according to Oldfield he had a majority of legal votes, but was defeated because the returning officer admitted fictitious votes cast for the Earl of Carnarvon's candidates. In 1812 Lord Folkestone supported the candidature of Thomas Calley. He and Pitt were returned unopposed; it was not unusual, where a constituency had two members, for one to represent each party. In 1818 Lord Folkestone put up, besides Calley, Robert Gordon of Kemble. The election was hard fought. Pitt was aided by government influence. One of his supporters wrote 'We Pittites are in high spirits', and added that there was gloom in Calley's countenance, and that Lord Andover (who was supporting Calley) was astonished to find that his interest was not so great as supposed. The result was that Pitt, with 715 votes, and Gordon, with 702 votes, were returned to parliament, while Calley polled only 505 votes. Pitt and Gordon were re-elected at the elections of 1820, 1826 and 1830.

The situation at Malmesbury was quite different. There were only thirteen electors. These were the corporation, comprising the alderman and twelve capital burgesses, which was recruited by co-optation. Such a body could scarcely resist the wishes of a patron, and he nominated the members of parliament. The corporation complained in 1807 that they had not seen their members for thirty years. The power of patronage had belonged to Edward Wilkins, an apothecary, who paid an annuity of £30 a year to the capital burgesses. He was succeeded by Edmund Estcourt, a solicitor, who increased the annuity to £50 a year. His interest was transferred to Pitt, who bought the lordship of the hundred of Malmesbury, and made himself high steward of the borough. How the electors did his bidding is illustrated by a conversation, between Pitt and his agent in 1812, reported by Campbell. 'The agent said, "You must take care, Sir, that the burgesses remember the names before going to the town-hall." Pitt: "I will take care of that; I will write them down." Agent: "That won't do, Sir, for the burgesses cannot read."' Campbell hinted that Pitt was willing that he should have one of the seats for Malmesbury, but Campbell regarded Pitt's political principles with too much abhorrence to accept any offer from him. The members returned by Pitt in 1812 were William Hicks Beach and Sir Charles Saxton. In 1818 Pitt nominated Kirkman Finlay, a business man from Glasgow, who had been lord provost of the city, and Charles Forbes, a Scots merchant in the India trade. In 1820, 1826 and 1830 Sir Charles Forbes and John Forbes were the members for Malmesbury.

There was a third borough in which Pitt had some influence, Wootton Bassett. The electors were the scot and lot payers, who numbered about 250. The principal landowners in the district, the Earl of Clarendon and Lord Bolingbroke, employed many of the electors and influenced their votes. Oldfield described how an attorney called James Kibblewhite set himself to defeat their influence. He bought or built 108 houses, raised payment for votes from 20 to 45 guineas, and put his nominees on the corporation. Kibblewhite was elected member of parliament in 1812, along with John Attersoll. Oldfield went on to say that Kibblewhite sold his interest to Pitt for £22,000 and that Pitt put his eldest son and a former clerk on the corporation. However the land tax assessments indicate that Pitt acquired no property in Wootton Bassett before 1825, when he was the owner of 117 houses, most of which formerly belonged to Kibblewhite. Nevertheless Pitt was concerned in the election of 1818. The candidates favoured by Pitt, Colonel Richard Ellison and William Taylor Money, won by one vote. Their opponents, Horace Twiss, a barrister, and John Wray, who were supported by the Earl of Clarendon, presented a petition to the house of commons. Pitt sent to Wootton

Bassett, to collect evidence of bribery by Twiss and Wry, and to look into the qualifications of voters. He also wrote to Kibblewhite, who presumably retained his property and influence in the borough. Joseph Mullings conducted the defence against the petition before the committee of the house of commons, which decided in favour of Ellison and Money. Twiss was successful in the election of 1820, when he was returned to parliament, along with George Philips, a manufacturer from Lancashire. These two were re-elected in 1826 and 1830. James Kibblewhite was still active in the politics of Wootton Bassett in 1823. A disagreement about the division of legal fees had arisen between his brother Edmund, another lawyer, and Joseph Mullings, who had come to practise in the town. James Kibblewhite said that he desired to protect Pitt's interest in the borough, and was anxious to avoid any schism between those who supported 'the great Proprietor of Property there'. He asked Pitt to mediate, who said that he wished no electioneering views to influence Mullings' conduct. In the end Edmund Kibblewhite paid what Mullings demanded from him.

Pitt's dealings with boroughs were called by Campbell 'trading in seats', though no record survives of his receiving financial benefit from the seats at his disposal. In the house of commons he never spoke. Occasional division lists in Hansard show that he voted as a Tory, even voting against the Tory government when he thought it deserted Tory principles. One of the chief subjects of dissension between the government and the opposition was the question of catholic emancipation, whether Roman catholics, including those from Ireland, should be admitted as members of parliament. Pitt voted against the proposals of Henry Grattan in 1813, those of William Plunkett in 1821, and those of the radical Francis Burdett in 1825 and 1828. He voted in 1822 against the recommendation to admit Roman catholic peers to the house of lords, even though it was made on behalf of the government by George Canning. When the Tory government of the Duke of Wellington finally introduced a Bill for catholic emancipation in 1829, Pitt still voted in the minority against it. At the end of the Napoleonic War the Tory government acquiesced in the Whigs' motion to abolish income tax, but Pitt voted for its retention. It is not known whether Pitt as a landowner voted for the corn law in 1815, but he voted against changes in it meant to promote free trade and cheap bread, which were introduced in 1827. The leader of the opposition in the house of commons, George Tierney, proposed a committee on the state of the nation in 1819, but Pitt voted against it. When George IV became king in 1820 and sought from parliament a divorce, the Whigs championed Queen Charlotte; Pitt voted against their motion on ministers' conduct in these proceedings.

The great question agitating parliament in Pitt's last years there was that of the reform of the electoral system. He owed his seat to the old system, and could not be expected to favour reform. When East Retford was found guilty of corruption, he voted in 1830 for the proposal to extend the franchise to the neighbouring hundred, as at Cricklade, rather than transfer it to Birmingham. The Whig government's Reform Bill passed its second reading in the house of commons by a majority of one at a memorable division in 1831, and Pitt was in the minority against it. Soon afterwards the Bill was defeated in committee, and the government called a general election. Pitt decided to retire from politics, giving as a reason his advanced age; he was 72. In the election Robert Gordon and Thomas Calley, both supporters of reform, were elected for Cricklade. Pitt voted for Calley, despite the difference in their political outlook. At Malmesbury two opponents of reform were chosen, and were jeered by the townsfolk. Cricklade survived the Reform Act as a borough returning two members; Malmesbury was reduced to one member; Wootton Bassett was disfranchised. Pitt sold many of his cottages in Cricklade between 1837 and 1842; he sold the hundred of Malmesbury in 1840 to Joseph Neeld, who was member of Parliament for Chippenham; he sold all but one of his houses in Wootton Bassett in 1830.

The last ten years of Pitt's life were troubled by financial worries. When he died in 1842 his debts came to over £150,000, towards which his estate could produce less than £13,000. The cause seems to have been the failure of his speculation in Pittville. Soon after building began there the country was hit by a financial panic at the end of 1825. The collapse of unsound foreign investment led to a run on the banks, some of which failed to meet their obligations. The bank of Pitt, Gardner and Company in Cheltenham weathered the storm; a public meeting expressed confidence in it and a willingness to accept its notes. But the crisis deterred purchasers from buying land. Many contracts for the sale of land in Pittville were abandoned. When William Cobbett in 1826 rode through Cheltenham, which he regarded as a devouring wen full of tax gorgers, he went 'to see "The New Buildings", which are now nearly at a stand'. He wrote, 'I have seldom seen anything with more heart-felt satisfaction . . . The place really appears to be sinking very fast; and I have been told, and believe the fact, that houses, in Cheltenham, will now sell for only just about one third as much as the same would have sold for only in last October'. The Cheltenham Journal admitted that the price of houses had fallen, but was pleased that speculative buyers had disappeared, and that property was being bought rather by wealthy individuals.

The building operation certainly slowed down. Of 600 houses intended in Pittville, only 100 had been

built by 1830. It had been Pitt's practice to sell plots of land to small builders on long credit, and to accept payment by instalments. Some of these builders became bankrupt. For example, James Watt, described as painter, dealer and chapman, borrowed money from the bank of Pitt, Gardner and Company on security of building plots in Pittville; he became bankrupt, and owed the bank £8,000 in 1825. William Dangerfield and John Knight were described as bankrupts in deeds of 1833 conveying their land in Pittville back to Pitt. The pump room at Pittville was expected to cost £7,000, and cost more than double. It was nevertheless finished, and opened in 1830. In the same year Cobbett ventured to return to Cheltenham, but he was unable to get a room for a lecture, and was burnt in effigy in Pittville Street. Altogether Pitt was said to have spent £40,000 in Pittville.

Pitt borrowed money on a large scale, mainly from his associates in business; most, though not all, of the debts outstanding at his death dated from the years after 1825. He borrowed on bond from the Rev. James Daubeny and his son the Rev. Andrew Daubeny, who belonged to the family of his second wife; from Robert Wright Hall, who had been inclosure commissioner at Minety; from Devereux Bowly, James Fielder Croome and Jacob Wood, his partners in the bank; and from his son Cornelius. These and other debts on bond came to nearly £16,000. Larger still were the debts Pitt contracted on the mortgage of his property. There were three principal mortgagees. From Joseph Mullings, his solicitor in Cirencester, Pitt borrowed over £50,000, on the mortgage of his estates at Minety and Eastcourt, and his property at Cricklade; these estates were already encumbered with mortgages of £46,500 to other creditors, including the Revs. John and Thomas Keble. From John Gardner, the other partner in the bank, Pitt borrowed £6,000, on the security of his property in Pittville; after Gardner died in 1836 Pitt borrowed from his heirs, his widow Mary and his nephew James, making his total debt to them over £17,000. From the County of Gloucester Bank itself Pitt borrowed £8,000 on the mortgage of property in Pittville; besides which he owed over £5,000 on current account. It was stated, 'The income of all the Testator's Estates is about £4,000 Per Annum, and the interest of the money is about £6,000. . .'

The tangled financial affairs of Joseph Pitt were settled in a lengthy case before the court of chancery. The defendant was Joseph Pitt's second son, also called Joseph, to whom Pitt left his property by will; the plaintiff was his grandson, a third Joseph, the son of Cornelius. Pitt's landed estates were put for sale after his death, and passed mainly to his mortgagees. Mullings acquired the estate at Minety



for £12,820, and that at Eastcourt (subject to the other mortgages of £46,500) for £19,000. He also acquired the manors of Cricklade, which he sold to Joseph Neeld. Mullings himself went to live at Eastcourt, and later became member of parliament for Cirencester. The property in Pittville was sold in 1843 and 1845, and passed mainly to Mary and James Gardner and to the County of Gloucester Bank. Many of Pitt's debts were still unpaid fourteen years after his death. The pump room at Pittville was not finally sold by order of the court of chancery until 1890, when Cheltenham Corporation bought it for £5,400.

The property market had recovered by the time Pitt's estates were sold after his death. Of the sale in 1843 the Cheltenham Journal reported, 'There was an excellent attendance of monied men, and the biddings were very spirited throughout'; land made much more money than was anticipated, being sold for 40, 50 and 67 years' purchase. Commenting on the sale in 1845, the same newspaper, after praising the enchanting gardens of Pittville, said here 'the capitalist may find a safe investment for his money.' The building of Pittville was completed. It is sad to reflect that this charming place brought ruin to its creator.

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THE QUAKER MILLER OF NAILSWORTH

by J. SIMMONS

Anthony Fewster was a cornmillier, and leading member of the Society of Friends, the Quakers, working and living in the Nailsworth area. He bought and sold a great deal of corn at local markets, Tetbury, Cirencester, Gloucester and as far away as Bristol, which involved haulage by water. In his journal he kept a constant watch on the state of the markets and notes the rise and fall of the trade.

He was a most interesting man and from his journal one can get to know a great deal of the local conditions and countrywide problems during his time. He was a great observer of the people, the poverty, and trading conditions that prevailed. He was a very strict Quaker, and was probably the leader of his local group. He lectured on many subjects and papers contained details of his lectures on such subjects as peace, pacifism, the dangers of drink, total abstinence being above all else what he desired. Even lectures on biology and a cure of warts were contained in his notes. He held very firm views on slavery and the evils of this trade, the Quakers being very active in holding meetings all over the country for its abolition, and he travelled widely about the County to attend meetings concerning this subject.

He married twice, in 1816 to Hannah Garner, who died in 1827, and later to Martha, by whom he had a beloved daughter named Patsy. He was High Constable for the Hundred of Longtree and a Guardian of the Poor for the Horsley Division of the Stroud Union in March 1846. Some of the duties of the high constables were to attend Petty Sessions held for their Hundred, report conditions of the hundred over which they presided, keep a book noting all out of pocket transactions mostly in the transport of vagrants out of the parish. He had much personal correspondence with local people on social conditions. In one letter Sir Francis Hyett of Painswick House sets out to prove to Mr. Fewster that the crime of forgery had not decreased since the abolition of it being a capital offence, as Fewster seemed to believe.

Monthly Quaker meetings were held on Sunday morning at the beginning of the month, and were well attended. Fewster listed points to be followed in everyday life. These included attendance at meetings, truth amongst each other, discouragement of tale bearing, the training of children and servants and people under their care in religious life, conversation consistent with their Christian professions and frequent reading of Holy Scripture, together with plainness of speech and clothing. Friends were to be just in their dealings and punctual in fulfilling their engagements,

against paying the tithes, priests' demands and church rates. They were to keep a faithful testimony against the bearing of arms, and to help the poor. This seems to be a list of standards that were asked at each meeting, and one presumes the leaders could exact a punishment for any breaking of these rules.

He wrote at length of the evils of drink and must have lectured widely on this. "Enough has been said to insure every man who has any regard for his health and comfort - his temperate and spiritual well being, the comfort and welfare of his family or the good of society at large to give up at once if unhappily he had fallen into this vile practice of drinking. It is a filthy creeping insidious enemy that is incessantly labouring to destroy him and will rapidly do so if he be not timely and manfully strong to carry him body and soul into hell."

A letter from a friend Mr. Brewin of Cirencester in 1854 discusses the merits of the Patriotic Fund, and how the Quakers were trying to avoid subscribing to it, as it might become an encouragement for war, but it was thought permissible to subscribe to setting up a soup kitchen. Amongst his papers were printed tracts of the Society for the Promoting of Permanent and Universal Peace, on War and the early Christians, the writings of Erasmus on the subject of war, sketches on the Horrors of War, chiefly selected from the Labaume narrative of the campaign in Russia in 1812, and on Universal Peace.

On the subject of famine relief he gave a paper in praise of the cultivation of potatoes as an answer to starvation among the poor, although this must have been against his own trade as a cornmiller. An acre of wheat would produce about 20 bushels which in turn furnished 268 quartern loaves, giving a 2 quartern loaf to a man per day, therefore lasting him about 9 months. On the other hand an acre of potatoes would yield 60 sacks, which would supply a man with food for 1280 days, rather more than 3½ years.

In July 1851 in his journal he wrote of a visit he paid to the Great Exhibition, and stayed in London for several days, which he found rather trying and very hot. Although he enjoyed the excitement of the capital, and visited during his stay a zoo and attended a peace convention, he was very happy to return to the quiet of the Cotswolds.

He loved the countryside and his garden, watching the passing seasons and making many notes about the early or lateness of spring and the severity of the winters. An example of his notes was that in 1844 in the first week of January the temperature had kept up to 52 degrees. He had a weather glass and a

barometer in the hall of his house which he watched daily and made daily reports, commenting that winter that the buds were swelling and the flowers beginning to bloom. "The flowers opening their wondering petals as if they had mistaken January for March or April." He was constantly writing about the beauty of the crops as they stood in the fields, the sunshine and the blueness of the sky, a straight-forward man reflecting in his writing his simple faith and following of the Society of Friends which appeared to have been the main-spring of his life.

His constant complaint written in his journal over and over again, is his failing always to carry too much stock, and throughout his writing he warned himself to try and draw his attention to this fault: "This has every been my besetting failing I am quite ashamed to say anything about amendment to this matter as I still go on in the same manner."

His journal is a daily and weekly report on the state of the markets and the relation the weather and political dealings have to do with the price of the corn. The year 1845 seems to have been fairly typical. The winter was long with continuous frost up to March followed by a very dry early summer. The weather appeared to break rather early, in June, before the hay harvest had been completed. By September the harvesting was late and the wheat was only ripening slowly with an immense proportion of straw. The potatoes during this year showed the beginning of the period when blight devastated the crop, with the great potato famine in Ireland and affected crops in Belgium and Holland. As a result there was a shortage of grain imported to Britain, and prices rose. By November the account on the potato crop was so serious that there was talk of the opening the ports to free trade, but no order was given and corn prices increased further. Continued wet weather was very unfavourable for the new wheat, which came to the market in very bad condition. Again he wrote a note to himself to keep a short stock, for independent of the new price being now so high, the grain would not keep. The market became very flat as there was a possibility of Parliament being recalled to repeal the Corn laws. Peel, the Prime Minister, resigned in consequence of not having been able to bring Wellington and the Cabinet to repeal the Corn Laws, and the dissolution of Parliament followed. Lord John Russell was called in, but failed to form a government, so that everything was at a standstill until in early January, the next year, Peel was recalled. The country waited until the end of the month for Peel to bring forward his measures and the debate lasted until June. Fewster remarked at the final passing of the Corn Law that after a very long struggle of the people with the aristocracy this 'just measure'

was accomplished and he hoped that it would be attended with very beneficial results to the entire community. The following year the potato crop again failed and wheat prices rose to the highest since 1828. The general state of the country was so bad that large numbers of the labourers working on the new railroads were stood off for want of capital. The money flow all over the country was greatly affected and the only source of imported wheat was America.

All through his journal and writings Fewster seems more anxious about the plight of the common man, therefore following his teaching in the Society of Friends, than the best price he can obtain for his corn.

LIFE AND TIMES IN SANDHURST, GLOUCESTERSHIRE: 1830-1860

by J. TAYLOR

Sandhurst is a parish of 2100 acres situated in a curve of the river Severn immediately north of Gloucester. In the middle of the nineteenth century the village was a loosely assembled agricultural settlement with three manors, a small number of large farms and many small agricultural holdings. The Gloucester-Tewkesbury turnpike road skirted the village to the east and the river formed the boundary to the west and north-west. Sandhurst Hill (280 ft.) formed the boundary to the north.

The influence of the industrial revolution had not been felt at the beginning of the period under consideration but employment opportunities widened somewhat with the opening of the brickworks along the banks of the Severn. Situated in the river's flood plain the Severn had an impact on the agricultural patterns and to a lesser extent on employment in the parish. This paper outlines the social patterns and changes experienced in the parish between 1830 and 1860.

The tithe documents of 1839 reveal that 682 acres were cultivated arable land, 1385 acres meadow or pastureland, 10 acres woodland and 20 acres "lie waste and unenclosed". Size of farm unit ranged from 6 acres to about 300 acres. There were 20 farmers and 137 agricultural labourers recorded in the 1851 census. Many farmers were tenants with the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester Cathedral being principal landowner, some of their holdings dating back to Domesday times.

The land holdings were very scattered with fields commonly located in six or so separate situations within the parish, presumably a survival from open field cultivation. The river meadows were still divided into narrow strips with different occupiers.

The population increased from 434 in 1831 to 494 in 1851. However the balance of men and women in the population changed markedly. In 1831 there were 152 females to 282 males but in 1851 the numbers of males and females was almost exactly equal. Of the male population in 1831 only 109 (38%) were 20 years or older. Similar figures are not readily available for females but may suggest that there had been an atypical male baby boom in the preceding two decades or that many females had moved from the parish.

Employment information for 1851 is fairly full. Of the 260 people to whom an occupation is ascribed half were directly employed in agriculture. A further 45 children were recorded as scholars. Eleven people

including a number of children were classed only as paupers and many others employed as agricultural labourers were recorded as paupers too because they were in receipt of poor relief. Causes of these payments included "old age, having or being a bastard, being crippled, paralytic, rheumatic or nearly blind". Payments ranged (in 1838) from 13s. to £3 7s. 7½d per annum. Three paupers spent some time in the Gloucester workhouse including 33 days by a "bastard and his mother".

Although 3 brickworks had opened in the parish only 10 people from the village worked there. Practically all other employees were in non-manufacturing employment such as house servants (13), dressmakers (11), land proprietors (6), laundresses, carpenters, blacksmiths and nursemaids (4 each). There were 2 schoolmistresses employed at the village school.

10 people lived on boats at the time of the 1851 census and of these two were the captain of a longboat and his wife. A number of locals got employment from fishing - a further indication of the importance of the river.

The parish records reveal the patterns of aid to the poor which, apart from Poor Law payments, included the dispensing of the Coal and Blanket Fund and other local charities. A record of subscribers to the coal and blanket fund and the way in which the money was used, but not the recipients, was kept on an annual basis. In 1852, the year of the Great Flood, £62 18s 6d. was raised entirely by voluntary subscription to aid the poor who had suffered losses.

Income from houses in Leather Bottle Lane, Gloucester contributed to the charities. However, against rent income expenditure on the houses had to be set including Land Tax and repair bills such as:-

A Estimate of repairing a House in Gloster			
	£	s.	d.
For repairing the Topes of the Chimble and the Silling			
To Labring and Matariles	1	7	6
To plastering Whitewashing) and Colouring 5 Romes )	1	17	6
For warking Matareles )			
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2	5	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

The Giles Cox charity founded in 1620 provided for £5 per annum to be distributed to the poor and had recently been administered as part of the coal and blanket fund. A report of the vestry committee on parish charities of about 1871 reviewed the state of the administration of the charities and made recommendations



concerning appointment of new trustees and sale of the properties in Leather Bottle Lane to purchase real estate in Sandhurst, the proceeds to be used for the benefit of the poor living in the parish.

The vestry minutes provide an insight into village activities through the middle of the nineteenth century. Attendance at meetings was dependent on payment of local Poor Rates with one vote for every person plus an extra vote (to a maximum of 6 votes) for each £25 rates paid over £30. Regular annual meetings were held to audit the accounts of the overseers of the poor, to appoint churchwardens, constables, a surveyor of highways, to distribute the charities and to manage the poor. The management of Sandhurst Meadow was arranged by overseers who were empowered to drive the Meadow and to deal with trespassers using the common land without their animals being marked. Owners were also allowed to run marked animals on the highway during daylight hours. In 1848 it was agreed that the floodgates of the Meadow should be opened between 1st December and 1st March each year and this decision was put into practice each year thereafter.

Legal action was taken to enforce payment of poor rates and in certain highway matters. For example, the surveyor of the adjoining parish of Barton St. Michael was summoned to enforce the repair of the highway leading to Sandhurst from Kingsholm Turnpike which was in "a very dangerous state". A "traffick" survey was undertaken in 1853 to assess the use of the Severn Towing Path as a base from which to calculate the appropriate rate to charge the Gloucester and Worcester Horse Towing Path Company.

Cholera recurrence was anticipated in September 1852 and special measures were adopted to ensure the proper cleanliness and ventilation in the homes of the poor and to improve sewerage. The surveyor was instructed to see that all public nuisance over which he had control be remedied as soon as possible; a number of specific cases being itemised including ditches, water-courses and dwellings. It seems that these methods were effective as there is no record of further outbreaks. Local opposition was voiced on one or two political issues. In 1854 the "Gloucester Waterworks and Local Board of Health and City Extension Bill" was likely to raise rates without increasing benefit locally. Proposed alterations to the Severn usually raised local opposition.

The manor house of Culverden was burnt down about 1850. An engraving of the house shows much original timber-framed construction with a substantial early nineteenth century addition. No records have been discovered to throw light on this loss.

Also in the 1850s the state of the parish church gave rise for great concern. A local landowner offered to pay half the estimated cost of repairs if the parishioners could raise the other half. Financial arrangements were made to borrow £250 against surety of the church rate. Estimates of the cost amounted to £1,298. Authorisation from the Consistory Court in Gloucester for rebuilding portions of the church and adding a north aisle was requested in 1857. A committee was formed to carry out the proposed plans which were duly fulfilled.

During this period a remarkable individual, William Cother, occupied Abbott's Lodge, a house with extensive grounds. He kept a full day book recording his household's horticultural and culinary activities in great detail. He was also not above sermonising on the problems of the middle classes in the period in which he lived. This extract is taken from this book and was probably written in the early 1830s:-

"My brother thinks I have valued these premises too high - Times are such that it would be hardly possible to say what land is not worth in any situation. Perhaps near to a town and where land is adapted for building on it may be reduced in value than further in the country where the land can only be occupied by a farmer. The real fact is that, but very few years since, if these premises had been let, a choice of several good tenants residing in Gloucester would have been anxious to have taken them at £1 per acre, more than a common farming occupier, who would have improved the land from making a great deal of manure themselves.

"Building has been very hack and also causes a great depression. I have only to remark that I was myself disappointed to find such a depression and attribute it to the following causes. Mr. Peel's bill for making cash payments which was an unjust attempt to fill his own pockets and those of every other rich man at the expense of the middle classes who wanted and ought to have received support. The political Economists also put help in hand to the same cause - and Free Trade, completed it by ruining at least 9 out of every 10 of the industrious middle classes of society. These causes have depressed the Trade of the country as much as the land - and I doubt not have been the occasion of the Riots and confusion which has been for the last 2 or 3 years in this country. A careful man who by his business, was getting bread for his family, has just right to complain if he loses his independence by the knavery of others, however rich they may be.

"The times in a few years might alter for the better and incline people to build as heretofore; surely where there is so much capability, the Land must be now of more value than merely for occupation - A madman only would sell such a property without having a considerable allowance for its advantages, situation, etc. independent of its value for occupation."

Sources:

Parish Records including:

Tithe maps and apportionments

Censuses: 1831 and 1851

Deeds

Church Records including Vestry Minutes.

Private documents notably William Cother's day book.

All documents are held in the Gloucestershire Record Office.

SANDHURST: A STUDY OF MINOR & FIELD NAMES

by HEATHER L. GOLE

In this study of Sandhurst I have attempted to trace the minor and field-names as early as possible and also the modern names. With this last I have met with only limited success as there appears to be little documented evidence of present-day field-names, although there have been few boundary changes and for the most part the field names are easily identifiable with the Tithe map. The exception to this is the area surrounding Bengrove Farm where the fields have not only been divided but have also changed their shapes.

The name SANDHURST means sandy wooded hill but it is very sparsely wooded these days. The Tithe map shows a number of "Groves" "Orchards" and "Reddings" (cleared of stumps). Some of the principal farm names date back to the 11th/13th centuries -

- BRAWN FARM: Brewer 1086 (the brew house - there are several hopyard shewn on the T/M)  
ABLCADS COURT: Abbelada 1190 (Abbas river crossing)  
BENGROVE: Bendegrave 1271 (Origin a bit obscure, was possibly the site of Coverdin)  
MUSSELL END: Moreslade 1200 (Valley in the moor or marsh) refers to the shallow depression anove Sandhurst)  
WALLSWORTH: Waleswurthe 1200 (Enclosure of Walh the Welshman)  
WILLINGTON COURT: Wilintone 1201 (Farmstead near the willows)  
also ABBOT'S LODGE (Abbodeshulle 1263) BARROW FARM (Barrows Farm 1839) CUFFRIES (- farm 1839) MOAT FARM (1839) PENNELLS FARM (Pinkewellemede 1210) GARDINERS FARM (Gardners 1839) CHURCH'S COTTAGES (Churchbarne 1537) FORTY GREEN (Fortiscrofte 1575) THE POUND (Pondfalde 1383) SINGLETON DECOY POOLS (Decoy 1839)

All names in capital letters are present-day spelling.

FIELD NAMES

Many of these are self-explanatory showing the size, shape or former use. These are taken from the Tithe apportionment, the dates in brackets being the earliest record and where possible the latest date recorded.

Former use - Milking Ground, Old Mill (on Horn's Brook) Brick Kiln Acre, Dog Paddock, Perry Orchard Old Orchard Stone Pit Orchard, Smith field, Hopyard. Surnames - Wards Piece, Sparrows Piece, Snows Ground, Vineys, Holtes Meadow (1764), Robins (1705), Ploughed Strunells,

Crofts - Whitecroft, Ellens Croft, Putcroft, Long Croft,  
 Hollow Croft, Forty Croft, Pocroft.  
 Groves - Bengrove, Bellgrove Piece, Great Grove, Queens  
 Grove, Little Grove, Ravensoak Grove, Vinegar  
 Grove, Daws Grove.  
 Leys - Rudgley, Tuckley, Long Leys, Bradley, Great  
 Leys, Bushley, Bisley Redding.  
 Others - Black Furlong (Black Furnell 1764), Stoney  
 Furnel (1764), Old House Grounds (1764),  
 Gaston Field (1764, Gaston Ground 1906),  
 Butchers Plecks (1768), Shippen Orchard,  
 Shepherds Bord (1764), Lecture Lands (1768),  
 Frog Castle Ground (1768), Burnt House Piece,  
 The Sturt, Nanny Deans, Six Acres Pit (1792,  
 Pitt Furlong 1812).

In a letter about the Glebe Lands Act 1905 Hills  
 Ground, Hallings, Bullgers and Lords Field are listed.  
 Great Chill Meadow, The Grove, Gaston Ground and Horns  
 Meadow are mentioned in Sale Particulars 1906 but in  
 1913 referred to jonly as Orchard, Pasture, etc. I am  
 hoping to do further work on this during the summer.  
 A full list would contain about 200 field-names.

JAMES B.B. ESTCOURT AND THE AMERICAN  
NORTH EAST BOUNDARY COMMISSION

by R.A. BULLOCK

James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt was second son of Thomas G.B. Estcourt of Estcourt House, Shipton Moyne, and his wife Eleanor, niece of Henry Addington, 1st. Viscount Sidmouth. Born on January 12th, 1802, James rose to the rank of Major General and was Adjutant-General to the Army of the East in the Crimea, where he died of cholera on June 24th, 1855. A brief biography can be found in George Ryan's Lives of our Heroes of the Crimea (London: James Field and Co., 1856). He spent much of his military service in Ireland and overseas, being stationed first in Gibraltar, where the Earl of Chatham considered him "an excellent officer, full of zeal for his profession, to which, if he lives, and has the occasion, he will, I have no doubt, one day prove an ornament."<sup>1</sup> His qualities so commended him to his superiors that in 1834 he was appointed deputy leader of the Euphrates Expedition, an attempt to establish an overland mail route to India. In 1836 he purchased his majority (his<sup>2</sup> commission and promotions had now cost his father £5,200), and in 1837 he was appointed to a command on the Niagara frontier at a troubled time in Anglo-American relations. In 1839 he was gazetted Brevet Lieutenant Colonel in recognition of his services on the Euphrates. When the British government was seeking a colonel to serve as North East Boundary Commissioner in 1842, he was thus qualified not only by his personal qualities, but also by rank and experience. Among the Estcourt family papers in the Gloucestershire Record Office are many relating to the Colonel's life, and those of the period of the Boundary Commission, 1843-1848, appear most full (in D1571/F568-579). His journal and letters, particularly those to his father and to his brother-in-law, Henry U. Addington, permanent Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, permit a detailed reconstruction of the work of the Commission. They also reveal much about the man himself, and his interests, particularly with reference to North American life and politics, though this short paper can treat only brief aspects of the man and his work. With respect to the Commission itself, the papers reveal not only the fears of the government and its Commissioner, but also their motives. They are complemented by the Commission's official papers in the Public Record Office (F.O.5/464-466).

The Boundary Commission was charged with the demarcation of the Canadian/United States boundary east of Lake Ontario, following the signing of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty (sometimes called the Treaty of Washington) on August 9th, 1842. Designed to settle a

variety of questions outstanding between the two governments, one of the more important stimuli for the agreement was the so-called Aroostook War, a skirmish between the lumbermen of Maine and New Brunswick in disputed territory on the Maine border. (An account of the boundary problems will be found in any standard text on North American history. e.g. S.E. Morrison, The Oxford history of the American people, London: Oxford University Press, 1965). Anxious to prevent an escalation of this conflict, both governments were keen to settle outstanding problems, particularly in the eastern part of the country, as it became more closely settled.

The British government in particular was anxious for a rapid demarcation and sought an officer capable of bringing this about. Recommended by his brother-in-law, Estcourt was considered "an excellent officer, a man of good temper and judgement, a perfect gentleman, and a man of the world; and entirely to be depended upon. His only defect is being my own brother-in-law ..."<sup>3</sup> By implication, he was considered "of a rank and character, suited to cope with a United States Colonel; for Graham is of course the man who will be selected by the United States." Moreover, to appoint a scientific officer from England would lend "greater dignity" than if the matter were left "in the hands of a mere surveyor or adventurer from Canada or New Brunswick, who happens to have got hold of the ear of the Governor."<sup>3</sup> Estcourt was also considered, and considered himself, unlikely to be deterred by "the awful life the wretched people employed in this service will have to lead for two or three years."<sup>4</sup> By the end of the year, his appointment was decided upon: "It is a grand thing for me. Many thanks to you."<sup>5</sup>

The Commissioner was enjoined to conduct business with his United States counterparts on a basis of compromise, and to avoid as far as possible referring matters back to the Foreign Office; but in the event of American intransigence, he was to adhere to "the strict principle of right on both sides." He was to accelerate as much as possible the completion of the line of boundary "...", for there was already a fear that there might be delay on the American side. Obviously for military reasons, he was to ensure that the boundary did not approach the summits of the mountains overlooking the St. Lawrence valley more closely than seven miles on their eastern flank. On the 45th parallel, he was to trace the line now recognised as the boundary, though it was known to be astronomically inaccurate. "In addition to other duties, you will make military notes of any points you consider should be made known to the Commander in Chief."<sup>6</sup> His military report was that only the boundary on the 45th parallel was vulnerable, and he recommended that British forces should concentrate there.<sup>7</sup>

The Commissioners' first official meeting was on May 1st, 1843. The potential of the environment to present difficulties was at once recognised, for the start of work was delayed for over a month by late snow and floods. Such difficulties were to be a constant recurrence, though as far as Estcourt was concerned, they were simply hardships to be borne. Even the summer season, regarded by local people as the only suitable period for the work in hand, had its difficulties, or to the heat and humidity were added the trials of the mosquito and black fly.<sup>8</sup> Early snow, which for other men might have led to an early termination of work, simply imposed on these the added difficulty of working, as in the fall on 1844, thigh-deep in snow. Cloud cover obstructed astronomical observations, and fog interfered with visual communications between the various parties. The winter cold affected chronometers, and fires had to be maintained throughout the night. Dense undergrowth in the forests led the Commission to do as much as possible in the winter months when it had died back. Transport was also easier when the frozen and snow-covered marshes were accessible by sledge. At this time too, it was possible to ship in frozen fresh meat, cheaper than the salt pork used in other seasons.<sup>9</sup> The most difficult period physically was during the spring thaw, and April tended to be the slackest month. Those who had to winter in the woods were threatened by shortage of supplies and were apt to develop scurvy.<sup>10</sup>

Apart from these difficulties, the Commissioner's most frequent complaint was of the slow work of the American Commission, particularly Major Graham, who was in charge of the technical side of the American effort, though not actually Commissioner. Among the local population, "To be attached to the Commission is said to be a good thing, and not to be expended too soon."<sup>11</sup> By July of the first year however, Estcourt's determination was making itself felt and work was progressing rapidly, "even, I believe, much more so than was expected by the world or than was expected or wished by my colleague."<sup>12</sup> He had also won the first dispute with Graham, confirming an old boundary, as he was instructed, rather than adopting a line surveyed by Graham which was more correct astronomically. Viewed from the British side, American delays were to be a recurring problem however. Estcourt recognised the financial difficulties on the American side, and largely absolved the American Commissioner, Albert Smith, on this score. One of the major difficulties between the two sides arose in 1844, when Congress delayed the appropriation for the American Commission so long that they were unable to take the field until August. The British, with 600 men in the field, were authorised to continue cutting with or without American agreement.<sup>13</sup> Smith was agreeable, but only Estcourt's determination and his offer to pay the cost of any adjustments necessary to meet American objections when they checked it overcame Graham's objections.



There is no record of the relations between Smith and Graham in these papers, but there was perhaps reason for friction between them. In the first place, Graham was not Commissioner, as perhaps he, as well as the Foreign Office had expected. To this might have been added a resentment of Smith as a civilian, who from the American side might well have appeared too malleable in the hands of the British Colonel. Only the American records could be expected to clarify this; it is clear from these records only that Smith was unable to act independently, and that Graham was a continuing source of exasperation, on whom Estcourt heaped all blame, while he regarded Smith, if anything, as an ally. "If Major Graham has been the Commissioner we should not have finished in ten years. He is an excellent honourable man: but a terrible slow coach."<sup>14</sup> Such complaints continued to the bitter end, Graham apparently opposing signature of the final report in 1847.<sup>15</sup>

It would be interesting to see the American appraisal of the British Commissioner, for they would have grounds to feel equally upset at his energy if they knew his motives. Early in the Commission, Estcourt had contemplated working through the winter, contrary to local advice and American wishes.<sup>16</sup> His reasons were later confided to his father: "... our mode of conducting the observations was more likely to produce an accurate result than the American, and (I) also thought that if it were left to them, the operation would take no end of time. I do not wish my reasons to be repeated. The way to cut all short was to take the field so early that the American Commission would be unable to come up. They have had no money ... It was not difficult to obtain their consent; because independent of my private reasons for desiring to begin in March other reasons of season were manifestly in favour of it."<sup>17</sup> In a later letter to Addington, he added "It has been all along a constant effort with me to devise reasons for doing work alone ..."<sup>18</sup> In this objective he was largely successful and the paucity of disputes over the actual survey is a tribute to the competence of the surveyors on both sides; for to the extent that one side worked alone, so did the other. At the same time, of course, it is a testament to the general amity existing between the two Commissioners.

There can be no doubt that the speed with which this difficult survey was completed is entirely attributable to Colonel Estcourt, whose every effort was directed to this end; even to intercession with the United States Commission.<sup>19</sup> Certainly it was in his nature to attack whatever task lay at hand with the utmost diligence, and to do all in his power to carry out the last letter of his orders. At the same time, he was subject to powerful personal and political motivations. Pride in his family and the desire to justify himself in the eyes of his father are clear throughout his correspondence. He was also keenly aware that only a job well done could justify his continued support by

his sponsors. As a staunch Tory and "Peelite" he was equally anxious that by his exertions he should enable the government to defend itself against Parliamentary criticism of the Commission's expenses. The Treaty of Washington had been severely criticised at the time, and Ashburton was subjected to considerable abuse in the House of Lords. In the closing turbulent years of the Peel ministry, the Commission was likewise a target, and though its great immediate expense was attributable to the large numbers of men engaged, Estcourt defended that as a long-run economy of scale.

For these reasons, he was prepared not only to deal firmly with his American counterparts, but to demand almost any exertion of his men, and to share their hardships. In the November of 1844, with two feet of snow on the ground, the astronomer Pipon was in dire straits, his supplies low, navigation on the river almost impossible, "... and yet he must go on because the observations are not yet complete ... We shall go in search of Pipon's skeleton when the river is frozen and will bear. Should he survive however, bright days will have come again."<sup>20</sup> (He did survive, but only just). Basically a humanitarian out of deep religious conviction, he was nevertheless a firm disciplinarian, demanding absolute loyalty; yet he was forgiving even of the most severe misconduct if he considered the occasion warranted it. So, for instance, when Broughton, whom he disliked intensely, submitted an unusually fine survey, Estcourt did not hesitate to seek withdrawal of his request for the man's removal, despite the fact that the work of the Commission had been threatened by disobedience.

The men under his command apparently responded to his qualities of leadership and were rewarded by a reciprocated loyalty. Most of the English surveyors and astronomers received substantial salary increases at his request during the Commission, and most also obtained preferment through his good offices on its termination. He was less successful himself, for he failed to attain his ambition of a post in the West Indies or the Governorship of the Cape or Mauritius.<sup>21</sup> Yet as he remarked to Addington, "... in real truth, I have no wish within what would be considered reasonable limits. Kudos is really the reward I covet: to be selected for offices of responsibility on the ground of that kudos."<sup>21</sup> Whether his election to Parliament in 1848, his appointment to Raglan's staff in 1854, and the posthumous gazetting of his knighthood would have satisfied that wish is not recorded.

## References

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2. Estcourt to father, November 22, 1843. D1571/F470
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